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DYULA INTELLECTUALISM IN THE IVORY COAST AND GHANA:
A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND CAREER OF
AL-ḤĀJJ ṢĀLIḤ b. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿUTHMĀN

by

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SUMMARY

This thesis is concerned with the 19th century politico-religious and intellectual aspects of the Dyula of Bondoukou and the career of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān of Jinini (d. 1932). Among the points of discussion are the establishment of the Gyaman Abron kingdom in northern Ivory Coast, the founding of a Dyula imāmate and trading community within its frontiers, the impact of the Samorian and French subjugation of the territory, the intellectual activity of the Dyula, and the influence of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ in Bondoukou, Jinini and Wenchi. Selected Dyula Arabic writings are included to give the reader an idea of the level of Dyula familiarity with the language and Islamic learning; this is not intended to be an exhaustive study of Dyula scholarship. To the degree which the sources permit, the focus of this study is upon the life of a little known scholar in the West, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	(i)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	(viii)
PART I	
CHAPTER	
I MANDE-DYULA MIGRATIONS AND THE FOUNDING OF BONDOUKOU	1
The Malian Background	1
Bighu	3
Early Inhabitants	6
Abron Conquest and the Dyula Emigrants	8
Political Structure of Gyaman	14
The Imāmate of Bondoukou	16
Dyula Community Organization	22
The Market	28
II THE FALL OF GYAMAN: ASANTE, SAMORIAN AND FRENCH RULE IN BONDOUKOU	32
The Establishment of Asante Rule in Gyaman	32
British and Asante Interests in Gyaman	35
Anglo-French Treaties with Gyaman	42
The Samorian Conquest of Gyaman	48
The Establishment of French Rule	61
End of Abron Rule	65
Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French	67
French Interests in Traders	72
Conversion of Animists	73
Muslim Militancy and the Notion of Jihād	74
PART II	
III THE SOCIO-CULTURAL HERITAGE OF AL-ḤĀJJ ṢĀLIḤ	80
The Family <u>Nisba</u>	80
ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim: Conversion to Islam	83

	Karamoko Muhammad b. 'Uthmān	88
	The Early Life and Career of al-Hājj Sālīh	98
IV	DYULA SCHOLARSHIP AND AL-HĀJJ SĀLIH AT BONDOUKOU: THE YEARS OF SUCCESS AND DECLINE	107
	Sūfī Orders and Teachers	107
	Islamic Learning	112
	Al-Hājj Sālīh at Bondoukou: Early Contacts	128
	The Pilgrimage to Mecca	130
	First Residence at Bondoukou	133
	Deportation and Aborted Aspirations	140
	The Last Years	153
	PART III	
V	KARAMOKO MUHAMMAD'S COMMENTARY ON AS-SANŪSĪ'S <u>RISĀLA</u>	156
	Sūl Ar-Rāthī	157
	Commentary on as-Sanūsī's <u>Risāla</u>	171
VI	THE WRITINGS OF AL-HĀJJ SĀLIH AND AL-HĀJJ MUHAMMAD SA'ĪD JATAGAKIYĀ	208
	Letter from al-Hājj Sālīh	210
	Reply to Karamoko Abū Bakr's Query Concerning Eleven Archaic Words	216
	Letter from al-Hājj 'Umar to al-Hājj Sālīh	226
	Reply from al-Hājj Sālīh to al-Hājj 'Umar	228
	Al-Hājj Muhammad Sa'īd's Poem About His Wives	231
	Nāfi'at al-Wildān	235
VII	TWO HISTORICAL QASĪDAS OF ABŪ BAKR b. AL-HASAN TIMITAY	255
	Tadhkira li n-Nās 'an Waqā'i li n-Nās	258
	Elegy for Al-Hājj Sālīh	265
	EPILOGUE	270
	APPENDICES	
I	Letter from Commandant Foseuti Concerning the Departure of Imām Kunandi to the Gold Coast	276

II	Some Predecessors, Relatives and Descendants of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih	280
III	Books Used for Teaching by al-Ḥājj Ṣālih	281
IV	Some Students of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih	282
V	Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Saʿīd's <u>Isnād</u> for Quranic Exegesis	283
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	289

MAPS

1.	The Southern Penetration of the Mande	2
2.	Some Important Towns of Gyaman and Asante	9
3.	The Plan of Bondoukou in the Early 20th Century	24

ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	Gyamanhene Agyeman and Two Sons	38
2.	Imām Kunandi Timitay	69
3.	Mosque of Jinini and grave of Muḥammad Saʿīd Jatagakiya	94
4.	Imām Muḥammad al-Murtadā of Jinini	103
5.	Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī of Jinini	106
6.	School children in the Qunbala <u>qabīla</u> of Bondoukou	114
7.	Imām Muḥammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou	146

PREFACE

It seems that most modern researchers have taken some of the major political entities, brotherhoods, movements and the inter- and extra-relations between various African peoples and European powers as the objects of their studies. Such states as Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Sénégal and Mauritania, to name a few, have been researched with a great deal of sympathy, understanding and expertise; indeed, a number of aspects of the Dyula have been studied most tediously and competently. I shall not embarrass myself by mentioning a few well known scholars in these areas and omitting the names of just as credible persons out of a lack of familiarity with their works. That notwithstanding, since the beginning of the present decade I have thought that while one group of researchers sort out the intricacies of kingdoms, empires, states, markets and other most deserving larger topics, that another group should apply themselves to studies of relatively unknown enclaves, events and individuals. The latter is what I have endeavored in the following pages.

A word about my subject and methodology is in order. I have been interested in the history of Muslim West Africa for a number of years. Some of the hours I spent reading West African historical literature in the late 1960s should have been spent in furthering my understanding of the caliphate of the ʿAbbāsīd al-Mutawakkil for which I was officially registered. Having perused several descriptive catalogues of Arabic manuscripts in university collections,

al-Hājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi and his many writings seemed a worthy and challenging research topic; my enthusiasm for the task was very strong. However, I soon learned from Professor Ivor G. Wilks, Mr. Thomas Hodgkin and Dr. Phyllis Ferguson that at least two students were actively engaged in research on al-Hājj ʿUmar. Needless to say that was quite a disappointment; I await their findings. Professor Wilks, who had spent many years in research and teaching in Ghana, then interested me in a less known person whom he thought deserved some attention, al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān of Jinini. Thomas Hodgkin had mentioned him and stated a similar opinion. They also suggested Paul Marty's Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire and Louis Tauxier's Le Noir de Bondoukou for some basic information about al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's sojourn in Bondoukou. These works made me interested in not only al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ, but also in the political and intellectual history of the 19th century Dyula imāmate of Bondoukou and al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's career in that town.

Therefore the aim of this study is two-fold: to impart a general view of the founding of the Dyula community and the Timitay imāmate at Bondoukou and its politico-intellectual history until roughly the turn of the present century, and the life and career of al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ and his predecessors. Part I is an attempt to introduce the reader to the historical background. Chapter I is a summary of the socio-political history of the Dyula and Abron migrations into and around Bondoukou, the establishment of power

bases and the founding of the Dyula trading center and imāmate within the animist Gyaman kingdom. Chapter II attempts to outline the external political pressures of Asante and Samori, and to summarize the British and French endeavors to bring Gyaman under their political influence. It also considers the final incorporation of the kingdom into Afrique Occidentale Française and French-Dyula relations.

Part II discusses the ethnic and cultural background of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's family. In Chapter III an attempt is made to trace his family origins back to the empire of Mali and the region of northern Upper Volta. The intellectual achievements of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's predecessors, their association with the well known Saghanughu family and the early life and learning of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ are dealt with in as much detail as my sources permitted. In Chapter IV we return to Bondoukou to investigate the educational structure of the Dyula community and to examine the qualifications of its ʿulamā. We also discuss the triangular relations between al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, the Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French administration, and finally the expulsion of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, his return to Jinini and his retirement and death at Wenchi.

Part III is mainly a presentation of Dyula Arabic writings with translations. Chapter V contains an elegy for al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's father, Karamoko Muḥammad, written by an eminent Ghanaian scholar al-Ḥājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi in which he praises both father and son. It

is followed by the only surviving composition of Karamoko Muhammad, a poetic commentary on one of the works of the North African author, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb as-Sanūsī, on tawhīd. Chapter VI deals with the extant writings of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and his son al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya; also included is a letter from al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ concerning the importance of the study of mathematics. Chapter VII presents pieces by Karamoko Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan Timitay. One is a short account of Samori's conquest of Bondoukou and the arrival of the French; the other is an elegy for the author's shaikh which contains some useful information about his conflict with the Bondoukou authorities.

This thesis is primarily based upon two kinds of sources: colonial administrative reports and oral data. Most of the colonial documents were read during my field trip to Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Sénégal between January and April of 1972. The holdings of Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire in Abidjan were particularly useful for administrative reports on conditions in Bondoukou during the early decades of this century. Unfortunately, the Bondoukou archives were closed for an indefinite period because its holdings were being copied and stored in Abidjan. Duplicates of some of the records were found in Archives de la République du Sénégal which were helpful for data concerning the French colonial organization, and intelligence reports on the activities of Bondoukou teachers, including al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. The Public Record Office

information facilitated a better understanding of 19th century British interests in Gyaman and the politics of Samori.

The oral data is comprised of field interviews conducted by Professor Ivor G. Wilks, Mr. Jeff J. Holden and me in Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast and Ghana between 1966 and 1972. Professor Wilks was interested in the Saghanughu family and their activities as teachers in the Western Sudan. Holden's main concern was with the political history of the Samorian period. Wilks' interviews in 1966 in Bobo Dioulasso with Imām Muḥammad Marḥabā Saghanughu served to form a picture of the predecessors of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. Holden's interviews carried out during 1968-9 in Bouna, Kong, Nsawkaw and Jinini with elderly relatives and others who had been acquainted with Karamoko Muḥammad's activities and some of his descendants were extremely useful. In the Spring Semester of 1972 I was granted study leave from my duties at Vanderbilt University to pursue research connected with this study. I interviewed descendants of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and various section chiefs, imāms and teachers in the following places: Kumasi, Sunyani, Jinini, Kintampo, Wenchi, Japekrum, Bondoukou, Sorobango and Kanguélé.

My informants were generally receptive and sympathetic. For the most part they seemed to appreciate the effort to research the life and career of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, as well as my attempts to gain some first-hand knowledge of their educational system. In some places they voluntarily

showed me their texts and invited me to visit their classes. On the whole I was well received by al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's grandsons and relatives in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Imām Muḥammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou was warm and hospitable; but there was more than one occasion during my six-day visit that I perceived a kind of uneasiness about the Imām when I asked questions about al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's stay in Bondoukou and his relations with the former Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French administration. It was obvious that he preferred talking about the Samorian period and the history of Bondoukou. I soon discovered that the success of the Bondoukou part of my task largely depended on the degree to which I could be both tactful and respectful. His great influence in the town was very apparent when at least three Muslim ward heads courteously declined any discussion concerning the conflict between al-Ḥājj Ṣālih and the Timitays. They cordially stated that al-Ḥājj Qudus was far more versed than they in the history of Bondoukou. My doubts about the accuracy of the Imām's statements were somewhat dispelled when he voluntarily assured me that his replies were sincere and correct.

I have also made considerable use of some published sources. I have gained much from the works of L. Tauxier, P. Marty, F.-J. Clozel, M. Delafosse, W.W. Claridge, M. Benquey, A. Nebout, R.A. Freeman, L. Binger, I.G. Wilks, F. Agbodeka, J.O. Hunwick and Y. Person.

In my opinion the main shortcoming of this thesis

is its lack of significant details concerning the early life of al-Ḥajj Ṣāliḥ, his role as an adherent of the Tijānīyya, his relations with the leadership of Bondoukou and his activities after his expulsion in 1912-3. However, I am inclined to believe that little more can be achieved at this time, some forty-two years after his death. The great majority of his descendants are deceased and very widely dispersed and their whereabouts unknown. It is hoped that this study will provide some additional information about 19th and early 20th century Muslim Dyula learning, and the career of al-Ḥajj Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān who is well remembered in a large area of West Africa as a competent teacher, Tijānī muqaddam and 'holy man'. If that is realized in the following pages, then I shall be content that part of the task was achieved, wa l-lāhu walīyyu t-tawfiq.

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This study was made possible through the help and collaboration of a number of persons to whom I should like to express my sincere gratitude. I am grateful for the suggestions, understanding and encouragement which I received from my advisors Professor W. Montgomery Watt, Head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Edinburgh; Professor Ivor G. Wilks, Program of African Studies, Northwestern University; and Mr. Christopher Fyfe, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh. Mr. Thomas Hodgkin, formerly of Oxford University, was always a source of encouragement.

It would be unkind of me not to mention some of the persons whose help was extremely important to the success of my research. To my field guide and interpreter, al-Ḥājj 'Uthmān Ishāq Boyo, I am greatly indebted for his patience, kindness and the sharing of his extensive personal contacts in the Ivory Coast and Ghana. I should also like to register my appreciation for the time and information received from the following interviewees: Imāms al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā of Jinini and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā Saghanughu of Bobo Dioulasso; Karamokos Ṣāliḥ Ghina of Bondoukou, Ṣāliḥ Jaba-ghatay of Kanguelé, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī of Jinini, al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi and Muḥammad al-Muntaqā of Wenchī. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Jeff J. Holden for the generous use of his field notes, and to Dr. Phyllis Ferguson, Miss Patricia Wilson, Mlle. Marie-Antoinette

Menier, Mrs. Lois Griest and Dr. Katherine Mosely for help in acquiring printed materials. I am also grateful to the following persons at the University of Ghana: Professor John Nketia, Director of the Institute of African Studies, who permitted me to use the Institute's collection and released al-Hājj Boyo to accompany me during my field research; Professors John O. Hunwick, Harold A. Lamb and A.A. Boahen of the Department of History who did much to make my stay at Legon comfortable and fruitful. The success of my work in the Archives de la République du Sénégal was largely dependent upon the help I received from its director, M. Jean-François Maurel and Professor G. Wesley Johnson of the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Mention should be made of those who are largely responsible for the mechanics of this thesis. They are Miss Sandra Calvert, secretary of the Afro-American Studies Program at Vanderbilt University, who typed most of the manuscript; Mr. George Walker III who did most of the photographic enlargements; and Miss E. Jean Woods who did much of the tedious work of preparing the maps; and Professor Daniel Patte, Department of Religious Studies at Vanderbilt University, who checked the French transcription.

I am most grateful to my wife for her understanding, patience and encouragement throughout the period of my research and writing. She was also very helpful in the translation of the Arabic manuscripts and helping our children understand the reason for their father's frequent absences.

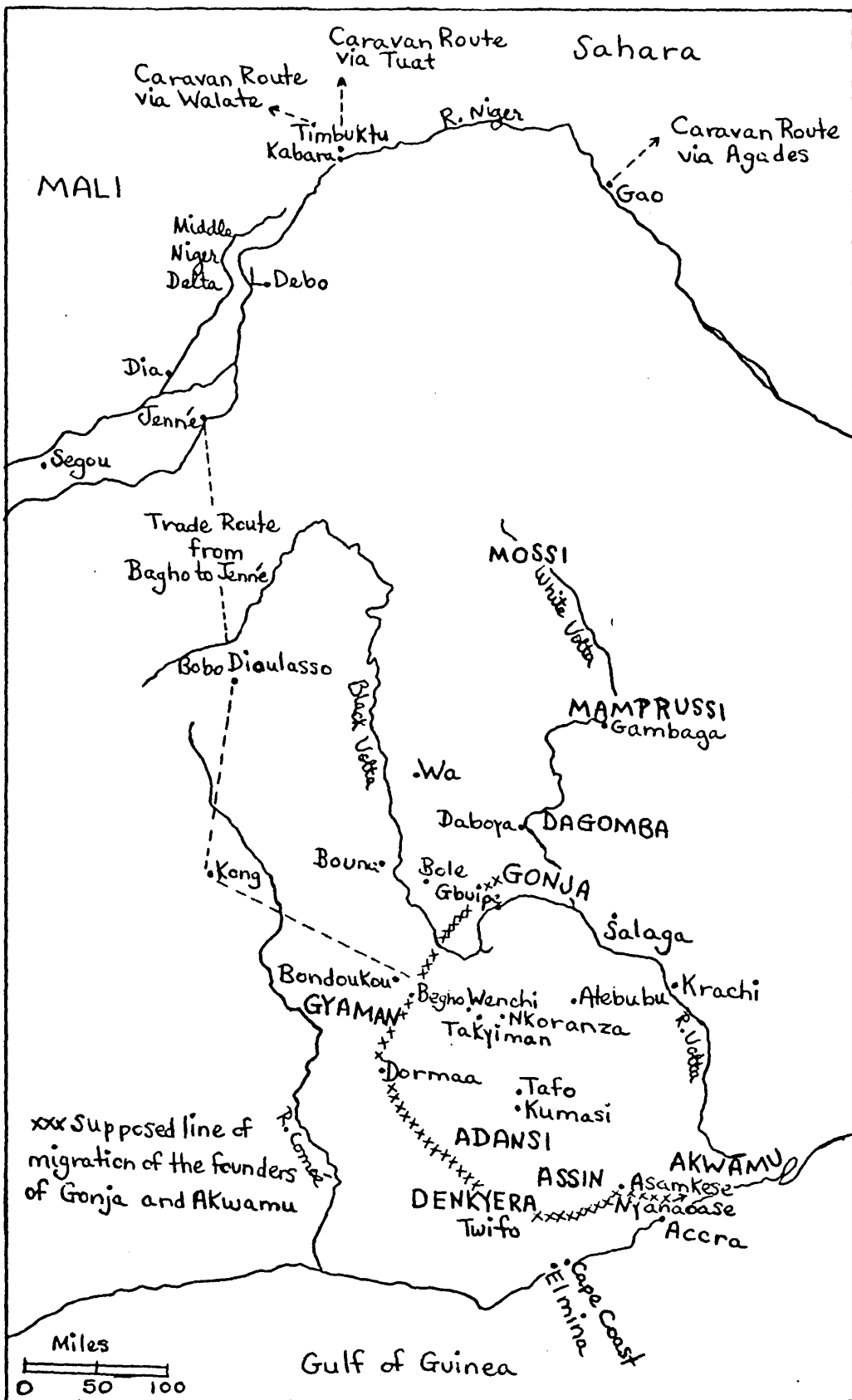
MANDE-DYULA MIGRATIONS AND THE FOUNDING OF BONDOUKOU

The Malian Background

The Upper and Middle Niger region of the medieval Mali empire was the geographical origin of many peoples who presently inhabit Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and other West African states. The multi-ethnic state of Mali engaged in the trans-Saharan trade in gold and slaves, and by the 13th century was involved in that of kola with the forest lands to the south.¹ The trade routes running north across the Sahara and those extending south to the forest zone were controlled by Mande-Soninke merchants known as Wangaras and Dyulas.² It is not clear when the

¹A. Adu Boahen, "Kingdoms of West Africa", in The Horizon History of Africa (2 vols.; New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), i, p. 185; see Nehemia Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 17-8, and As-Sa'dī, Tārīkh as-Sūdān, tr. by O. Houdas (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), p. 92(152).

²'Wangara' (Wankari) and 'Dyula' (Juula) are usually understood to mean 'Muslim merchant'. Perhaps the earliest reference to the former is in Tārīkh al-Fattāsh, tr. by O. Houdas and Maurice Delafosse (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), p. 38(65). However, the Muftī of Bobo Dioulasso, al-Hājj Muhammad Marhabā Saghanughu writes in his unpublished "Tārīkh al-Islām fī Būbū" (p. 12) that 'Dyula' means simply 'Muslim'.



Map 1. The Southern Penetration of the Mande.

(From Wilks, JAH, II, No. 1 (1961), p. 27).

Dyula began to disperse themselves among the various peoples to the south where they founded communities and became known to European writers as 'the southern Mande' or 'Manding'. However, it seems likely that small migrations occurred long before the final collapse of Mali in the middle of the 16th century. A factor which gave impetus to their southerly movement was the scarcity of gold in Europe which caused the Portuguese to search for new sources of the metal in West Africa in the 15th century.¹ The Dyula seized the opportunity of becoming middlemen in this trade. They had an advantage from the outset, for the gold-producing areas were within their sphere of operations. It seems reasonable that the rise and expansion of Songhay and the probable unsafety of the routes would have further stimulated their migration.

It would be superfluous to list the numerous peoples among whom the Dyula settled. Suffice it to state that they established themselves in communities of different sizes throughout the Western Sudan and parts of the forest and coastal zones of Western Africa. It is important, however, to consider their activities in Bighu which provides the model for their social organization in Bondoukou.

Bighu

Bighu, probably the Bitu (or Bītu) of the Tārīkh

¹Ivor Wilks, "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History: Begho and the Mande", Journal of African History (JAH), II, i(1961), p. 28.

literature¹, was located in the rich gold-producing Brong-Ahafo region of northwestern Ghana.² The founding and development of Bighu has been a subject of controversy among writers since the early 20th century, and it is unlikely that its history will be known until more excavations are completed.³ However, it seems fairly certain that its

¹As-Sa'fī, Tārīkh, pp. 11(22), 17(30), 21(37); Tārīkh al-Fattāsh, pp. 39(68), 48(94). Other renditions of the name are: Begho, Bayku, Bérho, Bēgo, Beego, Bi'u, Be'u, Beeo and Bew.

²Wilks, "Northern Factor", p. 25. To my knowledge, this is the best and fullest account of Bighu in print.

³See, for example, Louis Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée (2 vols; Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892), II, p. 161; Delafosse, Les Frontières de la Côte d'Or et du Soudan (Paris: Masson et Cie, 1908), p. 226; idem., Haut-Sénégal-Niger (3 vols; Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 2nd ed., 1972), II, p. 276 n.1; Louis Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou (Paris: Larose, 1921, Chapter III; Houdas, Fettach, p. 68 n.1; Yves Person, "En Quete d'Une Chronologie Ivoirienne", in J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L.V. Thomas, eds., The Historian in Tropical Africa (London: OUP, 1964), pp. 329-32; Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States 1500-1800", in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, eds., History of West Africa (2 vols; New York: Columbia University Press, 1972-3), I, p. 357. Two useful unpublished papers on the Dyula are Philip D. Curtin's "The Western Juula in the Eighteenth Century", Conference on Manding Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (S.O.A.S.) University of London, 1972, and Yves Person's "The Dyula and the Manding World", Conference on Manding Studies, S.O.A.S., University of London, 1972.

pre-Muslim inhabitants were Akan-speaking people. Imām Kunandi (d. ca. 1921) of Bondoukou informed Captain Benquey that Bighu

had been founded by a Muslim holy man of the Hwela [Hwela] tribe who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and around whom several Mande Dyula families came and settled.¹

According to Meyerowitz, this Hwela Muslim was from Jenne.²

Some time before the fall of Mali, a number of Muslim Dyula settled in the village which subsequently became the most important trading town in the region of the Black Volta. Bighu had early commercial links with communities in the Western Sudan, and later in southern Ghana as far as the coast. With respect to the more important northern connection, As-Sa'dī wrote:

Jenne . . . is one of the greatest Muslim markets, where traders [arbab] with salt from the Taghāza mine meet traders with gold from the Biṭu mine. Both these rich [mubarak] mines have no equal in the whole world.³

Like the medieval capital of Ghana, Bighu was divided into two townships, one inhabited by the autochthones and the other by peoples of Malian descent. Among the Dyula families which settled there were the Jabaghatay (Diabaraté or Kari-Dyula), Nanayya (Nénéya), Kamaghatay (Kamaya or

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 67-8.

²E.L.R. Meyerowitz, Akan Traditions of Origin (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1952), p. 46.

³As-Sa'dī, Tārīkh, pp. 11-12(22).

Kamagaté), Koumala, Dérébou (Dorobo), Donzo-Watara, Timitay (Timité), Kurubari, Bamba (Ligbi), Gbani (Kumbala) and their artisan associates, the Numu (Noumou).¹ These 'strangers' formed several gabīlas or soros (Arabic and Dyula respectively, for quarters, sections or wards) which were semi-independent of animist overlordship. Each quarter was governed by its senior member whose position was similar to that of a village chief. Within this emigrant community political authority rested with a Mande chief of the Muslims, and religious authority with an imām; the two persons were members of different families. Following a civil war in the late 15th or early 16th century, the cause of which is not clear,² this southern Dyula outpost was partly abandoned. Many of its inhabitants, Muslims and non-Muslims, resettled in and around a Nafana village, the future Bondoukou, situated in nearby northeastern Ivory Coast.

Early Inhabitants

Before proceeding to the main discussion a word of caution is in order with regard to the use of the term 'Bondoukou'³ in the French sources. After the French

¹Wilks, "Northern Factor", p. 26; idem., "Mossi", p. 355; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 68.

²Delafosse, Frontières, p. 226 ff.

³The name is usually rendered in West African Arabic as 'Buntuqu' and pronounced the same in Dyula. Other renderings in European sources are: Buntuku, Bonduku, Bitougou, Bottogo and Gottogo.

occupation of 1897 the country was divided into administrative districts, cercles, and in the case of Bondoukou there was le cercle de Bondoukou and la ville de Bondoukou. The former extended from the southern boundary of modern Upper Volta in the north to Tankesse in the south, and from the Gold Coast in the east to the Comoe in the west. The town was situated in the northeast about fifty-six miles from the Gold Coast frontier. It was the administrative center for the district which included the important town of Buna. For the purposes of this study the French references to Bondoukou même are to the town and synonymous with la ville de Bondoukou.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, chronologically to date the migrations of the various groups to Bondoukou. This is partly due to the loss of documents in 1895 when the town was captured by Samori,¹ and partly to the inevitable contradictions in the oral sources. Hence, the following is at best an approximate picture of the growth and social structure of the town.

The earliest settlers on the site which was to be known as Bondoukou is a matter of dispute among the inhabitants of the area. However, most of the indigenous groups, as well as the early French authors, state that the Gbin, related ethnically to the Gouro of the Upper Sassandra, were the autochthonous people. A second group, the Loros of Lorhos (also known as Pakhalas by the Dyulas),

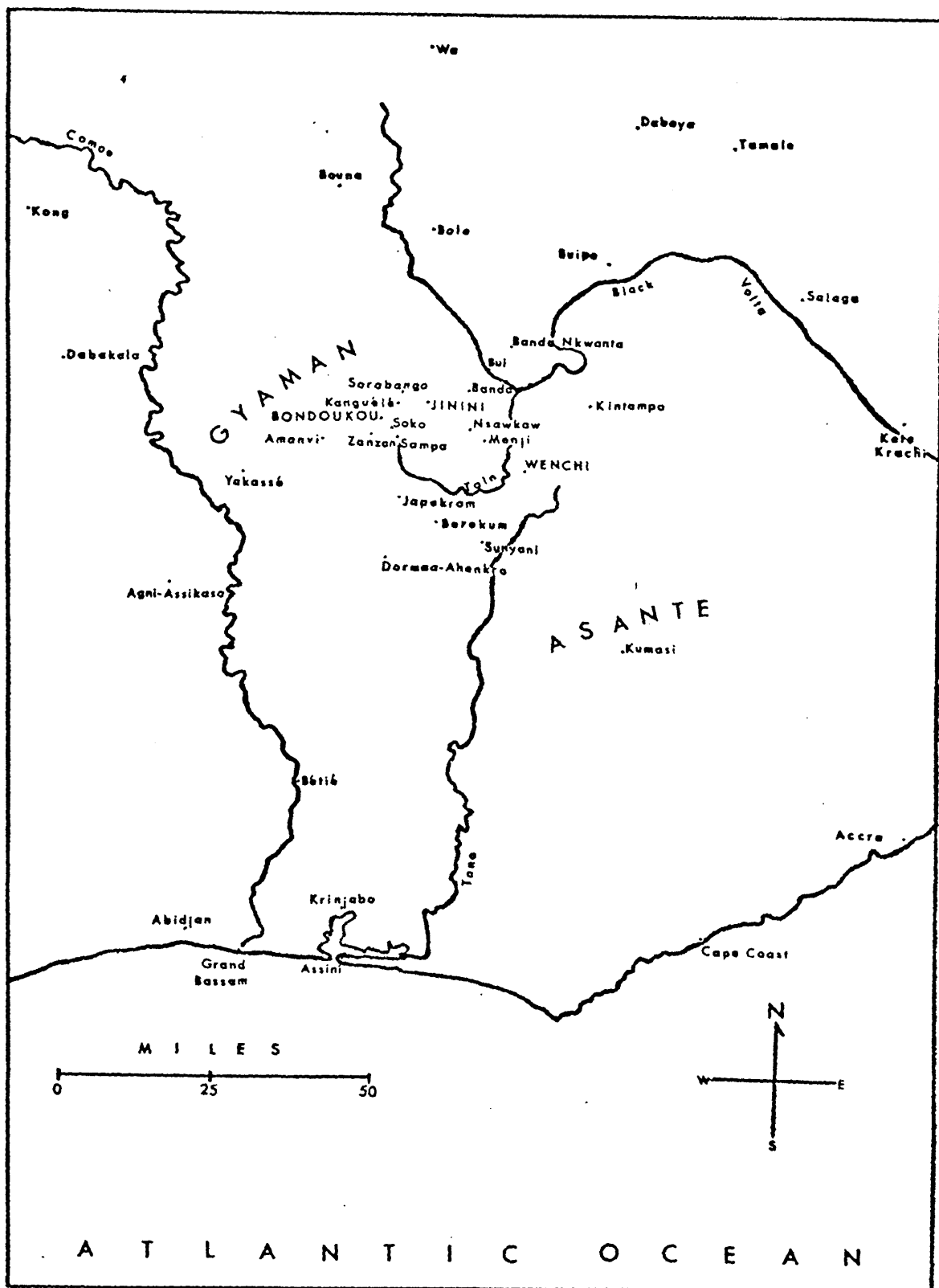
¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 67

are 'paternal cousins' of the Koulangos and were among the founders of the village; their influence was probably short-lived. A third group of early settlers, the Nafana (of the Senufo family), were able to dispute with the Gbin over the right to the title of maître du sol, 'owner of the land'. The Nafana were the dominant people in Bondoukou before the arrival of the Dyulas and the Abron.¹ Hitherto this area was a simple village; its period of commercial efflorescence was to commence with the settlement of the Mande-Dyula emigrants of Bighu. But all of these people were to be subjected, in varying degrees, to the political overlordship of yet another emigrant group.

Abron Conquest and the Dyula Emigrants

The history of northeastern Ivory Coast changed radically with the founding of the Abron dominated kingdom of Gyaman. The Abron (or western Brong), closely related to the Asante, had attempted to establish their hegemony in the region of Salaga, but they were opposed and defeated. They migrated westward until they reached Doma (modern Dormaa-Ahenkro) where they subsequently divided into two groups: one remained at Doma and the other entered the Ivory Coast at the end of the 15th century, a date which

¹Delafosse, Frontières, pp. 223-4; idem., Haut-Sénégal-Niger, I, p. 318; M. Benquey, "Monographie de la Ville de Bondoukou", in F.-J.Clozel, Dix Ans à la Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1906), p. 190; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 43-7, 51-2.



Map 2. Some Important Towns of Gyaman and Asante.

roughly approximates the arrival of the first Dyula in Bondoukou.¹ The Abron remained for a time at Yakassé, a village about forty-eight miles southwest of Bondoukou; but with the permission of the Nafana chief they removed to Zanzan, some sixteen miles south of the town. For the next century or more the Abron were engaged in wars of conquest against the neighboring Koulangos and other less numerous peoples, and thus founded the Gyaman kingdom the initial limits of which are unknown.

That the general Dyula migration to Bondoukou followed the internal warfare at Bighu is clear. However, there were some Bighu families in the immediate environs and in the future town itself in the last decade of the 15th century. The Muslims among the latter group were the Jabaghatay or Kari-Dyula who, according to Tauxier, supported the Abron of Doma against the Asante of Kumasi and eventually settled at Zanzan.² They were followed by other Muslim and partly Islamized families: Kamaghatay, Koko, Nanayya, Timitay, Donzo-Watara, Hwela and Numu. It is instructive to note the oral accounts of the pattern of migration and settlement. A former Abron district chief, Kouam Kossonou, related to Tauxier the following order of Dyula arrival into the district of Bondoukou.

Les premiers Dyoulas venus à Bondoukou

¹Delafosse, Frontières, pp. 228-30; Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 204; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 75, 79-88.

²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 81.

seraient arrivés du Doma. C'étaient les Kari-Dyoulas. Ils vinrent au temps de Kofi Sonou ou Kossonou, au nombre de sept d'abord. Kofi Sonou aurait dit qu'à cent il tuerait un boeuf. . .

Les Donzo, venus eux de Bégho, seraient aussi arrivés dans le cercle sous le règne de Kofi-Sonou.

Les Koko et les Nénéya viendraient de Kpon (le Kong des Européens). Leur arrivée se serait effectuée aussi sous le règne de Kofi-Sonou.

Enfin les Kamarayas, ou mieux Kamaraté, viendraient de Boualé ou Bôlé (gros village situé au N.E. de Bondoukou et au S.E. de Bouna, en Gold Coast). Ils seraient venus également sous Kofi Sonou.¹

Tauxier rightly suspected the correctness of this testimony which claims that most of the Dyulas arrived in the area during the reign of Kofi Sono who became Gyamahene in the mid-18th century. The above information also conflicts with the following more contemporary and historically more reasonable Jabaghatay accounts. Dalla Jabaghatay b. Yūsuf, chief of the Kari-Dyula qabīla and a descendant of the first Jabaghatay, states:

The Kari-Dyula came from Begho under Zakarīya and with the Gyaman people. At Begho, the /future/ Gyamanhene Kosūmu married his daughter Yawa to Zakarīya, and from this match was born Zanzan Kounandi ... Zakarīya did not settle in Bonduku, but went to nearby Zanzan.²

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 439.

²Jeff J. Holden, field notes, interview with Dalla Jabaghatay b. Yūsuf, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

This account is corroborated by another prominent member of the section, Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay:

Only one man, a Bambara hunter, was in Bonduku when we arrived. The Kari-Dyulas were the first Muslims in Bonduku, and Zanzan Kunandi was their first chief there.¹

The present Imām of Bondoukou, al-Hājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay, who is locally considered to be a leading authority in historical and genealogical matters, summarizes the Dyula migration:

The first Muslims were the Kari-Dyula whose nasab was Jabaghatay and from Bighu; the first was Zanzan Kunandi. Then came the Kamaghaya whose nasab was Kamaghatay; then the Koko, Nanayya, Donzo-Watara, Qunbala, and then the Timitays. All but the Timitays came from Bighu; the Timitays came from Mande. The Donzo were not Muslims when they arrived; most of them accepted and learned Islam from the Timitays² ... [The Timitays] came from the Sahara to Mande Kaba, to Samatiguila (chief town of Koro in Ivory Coast) ... from there to Begho and thence to Bonduku, at the time of the second Shaikh [Muḥammad Al-Abyāḍ]. The Kamaghatay were already there [in Bondoukou] and were the imāms. The Timitays met the Kamaghatays in Begho ... The Donzo people came from Begho to Dibi (near

¹Holden, interview with Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

²Akbar Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām al-Hājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

Sampa) . . . All the Huelas were pagan".¹

Some Huelas, accompanied by Numu smiths, also left Bighu before the general abandonment and, according to most traditions, arrived in the district of Bondoukou before the Dyula. Other Huelas are credited with the founding of two important Mande towns, Jinini (Guénéné, in northwestern Ghana) and Sorobango (in northeastern Ivory Coast) where some of them were subsequently converted to Islam, presumably by itinerant Muslims of Mande origin.² Around 1710 a number of Hausa families of Kano origin emigrated to Bondoukou, perhaps via Salaga or elsewhere in Gonja. They monopolized the local dying industry.³

The Dyula community was founded with the consent of the autochthonous peoples. Although allowed to settle gratis, save the customary annual gift of a chicken and a part of every animal slaughtered to the Nafana chief (bambara-masa), the Muslims were considered strangers and did not own the land.⁴ They were free to follow

¹Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

²Delafosse, Frontières, p. 228; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 65, 69.

³A. Nebout, "Monographie du Cercle de Bondoukou", in Clozel, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 171; Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 197.

⁴Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 51, 76; Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 191; Gaston Joseph, La Côte d'Ivoire, le pays-les habitants (Paris: Émile Larose, 1917), p. 212; idem., "Bondoukou", in Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Bulletin Mensuel (October-December, 1915), p. 204.

their religion; but unlike their brethren in Asante, the Muslims of Bondoukou were forbidden to proselytize.

Avant notre arrivée à Bondoukou les Abrons, maîtres du pays, interdisaient formellement la conversion à l'Islamisme et tout infraction à cette règle était sévèrement refrénée.¹

Conversion of animists will be discussed in chapter two.

Political Structure of Gyaman

Political authority in Gyaman was decentralized. Chieftaincy was hereditary and existed on two levels, district and village. The Gyamanhene was often a titular ruler whose religious base seems to have rarely afforded him much political power in the affairs of his kingdom.² Like the kings of Asante, he possessed a golden stool as a symbol of his rank. Real authority rested with regional and district chiefs. Representatives of the king or district chiefs resided in the villages. There was no standing army in the various communities.

Abron relations with the Muslims were significantly different from those with other groups. The Dyulas were not conquered. In this regard the French administrator Nebout states:

¹Abidjan. Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire (ANCI), xv-42-108, no. 220, "Rapport sur la situation de l'Islam dans le Cercle", 14 October 1910, p. 87.

²Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 306-8.

³Thomas E. Bowdich, Mission From Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (London: John Murray, 1819), pp.244-5.

Il faut ajouter que les Abrons, loin de s'attaquer aux Dioulas, surent s'en faire des alliés.¹

The circumstances surrounding the alliance is further explained in a letter from the Bondoukou district administrator to the governor of the Ivory Coast at Bingerville:

L'entrées des Abrons et des Dioulas dans le territoire de Bondoukou semble remonter à quelques siècles. Des Dioulas qui habitaient le Nord de la Côte d'Or vinrent former la ville de Bondoukou. Peu de temps après les Abrons originaires des Achantis; ils vinrent se réfugier en Côte d'Ivoire, et après s'être alliés aux Dioulas ils firent la guerre aux Coulangos qui furent vaincus. Par la suite les Dioulas restèrent toujours alliés fidèles des Abrons en tout occasions, mais d'un tempérament peu guerrier, ils se contentaient de les aider de leur conseils, et prudemment enfermés dans leur forteresse de Bondoukou ils préfèrent se livrer au commerce ...²

Presumably the Dyulas were to enjoy conditions favorable to the pursuit of trade and were not to engage in any activity hostile to the state. According to Abron informants, the Muslims were not required to pay taxes on their merchandise or caravans for "the Dyulas are [like] our women".³

¹Nebout, "Bondoukou", p. 170.

²ANCI, xv-42-108, No. 15, "Notice sur de Cercle de Bondoukou en execution de la circulaire no. 153G", Administrateur au Gouverneur, 11 February 1902, p. 4.

³Holden, information from French anthropologist, Emmanuel Terrier, from Abron informants, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

The Imāmate of Bondoukou

The first semblance of religious unity emerged with the installation of a Kamaghatay imām who was recognized by the Jabaghatays and probably other Muslim families. The Kamaghatays had been political leaders in Bighu, a position which may have facilitated their attainment of high office in Bondoukou.¹ A manuscript in the Institute of African studies at the University of Ghana lists seven Kamaghatay imāms.² Although the document makes no reference to Bondoukou or any other town, its Kamaghatay owner, Imām Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, insists that the names and terms of office are authentic and applicable to Bondoukou. Having made a careful study of its contents and a comparison with recent oral testimony, I accept it as authentic until further research proves otherwise. The imāmates are given as follows:

ʿUthmān Kamaghatay	39 years
Yūsuf Kamaghatay	28 years
ʿAbdullāh Kamaghatay	24 years
Sulaimān Kamaghatay	18 years
Fitikay Kamaghatay	25 years
Idrīs Kamaghatay	15 years
Saʿīd Kamaghatay	10 years

Hence, the Kamaghatay imāmate lasted one hundred and fifty-nine years. We know nothing about the learning of

¹Wilks, "Mossi", p. 355.

²IAS AR/81, copied from the original which is in the possession of Limām (Imām) Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm Kamaghatay of Bondoukou, resident of Domaa-Ahenkro, Ghana.

these men; but they were followed by the erudite Timitays who have provided the imāms to the present day.

Local Timitay tradition gives the cause of the demise of the Kamaghatays thusly:

The Kamaghatays were to pray for the people, but they did not know the proper prayers, and the Kamaghatay imām would sleep for the whole day. . . The Kamaghatay imām, who was a drunkard, failed to turn up, and his people sacked him. This Kamaghatay mallam who made himself imām used to take people's wives, and the Gyaman [*i.e.* non-Muslims] are fussy about this. They chased him away. Nobody knows his name because the Kamaghatays are ashamed of him.¹

While this account may be suspect in some of its details, it indicates, nevertheless, a certain measure of incompetence and lack of qualifications on the part of the Kamaghatay imāms. Undoubtedly other aspirants would seize upon such an opportunity with a view to succession. The incident raises the question as to why were their successors of the Timitay lineage. A possible explanation could be that there were few families whose members could conceivably attain to the office, namely the Jabaghatays and the Timitays. Assuming that the Koko and Nanayya were present at this time, there is no indication that they were of any political or religious importance; indeed, they have received little mention in the written and oral

¹Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

histories. The Jabaghatays seem to have been relatively less knowledgeable in religious matters and contented themselves with the spiritual leadership of the Kamaghatays who provided them with imāms. Presumably the Jabaghatays were the first to occupy the non-religious post of chief of the Muslims; the position was later held by the oldest member of the community.¹

The Timitays acceded to the imāmate from the position of teachers of the Islamic sciences. The present imām states that they were "Islamic teachers and guides";² the latter term indicates, so it would seem, that they were advisors in religious matters to other Muslims. An early attempt to date the beginning of their imāmate may be found in the work of Tauxier.³ The author was given the term of office of each imām; using the total, based on information received from Imām Kunandi Timitay, he dated the accession of the first imām. However, disagreeing with tradition and using the supposed reigns of contemporary Abron kings, he proceeded to revise the chronology.⁴

¹Holden, interview with Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

²Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

³Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 126-30.

⁴Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 128.

<u>Imām</u>	<u>Term of Office</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Assiekou / <u>Īshāq</u> / Timitay	30 years	1755-1785
Mama Timitay	40 years	1785-1825
Assiekou Fima / <u>black</u> / Timitay	7 years	1825-1832
Kadare / <u>Qādir</u> / Timitay	14 years	1832-1846
Saidou / <u>Ṣaʿīd</u> / Timitay	7 years	1846-1853
Ibrahima Timitay	41 years	1853-1894
Soumaila / <u>Īsmāʿīl</u> / Timitay	7 months	March-September 1894
Kounandi Timitay	?	after September 1894

This method is unacceptable as the dates of the early Abron rulers are far from certain. I was able to obtain a list of the Timitay imāms with the dates of their deaths in hijra years which, though not without fault, may provide a more accurate basis for dating both the Kamaghatay and Timitay imāmates.¹ With respect to the terms of office it is the same as that given to Tauxier down to the time of Imām Ismāʿīl.²

¹The document was given to me by al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Boyo, Senior Research Assistant, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. He received the information from Imām Timitay.

²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 126.

Ash-Shaikh al-Akbar	59 years	d.1122/1710-11
Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ b. ash-Shaikh	49 years	d.1171/1757-8
Muḥammad al-Aswad b. ash-Shaikh	47 years	d.1218/1803-4
Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	25 years	d.1243/1827-8
Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	7 years	d.1250/1834-5
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	41 years	d.1291/1874-5
Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Aswad	7 months	d.1291/1874-5
Kunādī /Kunandi/ b. Mālik	49 years	d.1340/1921-2
'Alī b. Ibrāhīm	39 years	d.1379/1959-60
Muḥammad Qudus b. Ibrāhīm, present <u>imām</u>		

The major discrepancies in the above list are the imāmates of Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl and Kunādī b. Mālik who is better known as Kunandi Timitay. If all the imāms died in office and it was never vacant for any length of time between deaths and accessions, as is claimed, then it is not possible that Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl died as early as 1291/1874-5. Both of Tauxier's lists give 1894 for their deaths and the year of Kunandi's accession.¹ This is corroborated by the following testimony of Imām Qudus Timitay:

Samory called everyone to a court, but Braimah /Ibrāhīm/ was too old to come so Ismā'īla went instead²... Samori removed to Dabakala after the peace of Bondoukou; he made Ibrāhīm Timitay the imām. After the death of Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īla became imām, but lived only eight months after his accession. At that time /i.e. death of

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 127-8

²Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou
14-15 March 1968.

Ibrāhīm/ Kunandi was in Dabakala; he was a delegate to the funeral of Samori's father ... Kunandi was elected imām before his return to Bondoukou.¹

An inaccuracy appears in the Imām's account which makes Samori ruler of Bondoukou in 1894, while the European sources show that his conquest of the Abron and his entrance into Bondoukou did not occur until the middle of 1895. This contradiction may be resolved if we assume that Tauxier's informants gave the terms of office in hijra years which would account for the difference of one year. However, the question of who was imām at the time of Samori's occupation is yet unanswered. On this point I accept the European sources with regard to the date of his entry into Bondoukou, and I accept Imām Qudus' statement as to the accessions of Ismā'īl and Kunandi, with the proviso that Samori ratified the appointment of Ibrāhīm, but did not make the initial appointment. A more accurate chronology of the Timitay imāmate may be obtained by using the traditional terms of office for the first seven imāms, and then combining the European sources with modern oral data. Thus we obtain the revised list below which does not purport to be more than a closer approximation to the truth than that given by Tauxier.

¹Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

Ash-Shaikh al-Akbar	59 years	d.1144-5/1731-2
Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ b. ash-Shaikh	49 years	d.1193-4/1779-80
Muḥammad al-Aswad b. ash-Shaikh	47 years	d.1240-41/1824-5
Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	25 years	d.1265-6/1858-9
Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	7 years	d.1272-3/1855-6
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ	41 years	d.1313-4/1895-6
Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Aswad	7 months	d.1313-4/1895-6
Kunādi b. Mālik	27 years	d.1340/1921-2
'Alī b. Ibrāhīm	39 years	d.1379/1959-60
Muḥammad Qudus		

A tentative date for the imāmates of Bondoukou may now be advanced. By subtracting the term of Imām ash-Shaikh, fifty-nine years, from the date of his death, 1144-5/1731-2 A.H., we obtain the year 1085-6/1674-5 as the beginning of the Timitay imāmate. As the Kamaghatays were in office some one hundred and fifty-nine years prior to this time, then the Bondoukou imāmate began some time around 926-7/1519-20. Admittedly this date appears early when compared with that of the settlement of the Jabaghatay and Kamaghatay in Gonja; but as the fall of Bighu did not occur until the early 18th century,¹ it is possible that some members of these families remained in or returned to Bighu from elsewhere.

Dyula Community Organization

Since there is no descriptive literature concerning Bondoukou during the pre-colonial period, we shall utilize the sources of the late 19th and early 20th centuries hoping that they reflect a generally accurate picture of earlier times. Bondoukou, about one kilometer from east

¹Wilks, "Mossi", pp. 355, 363.

to west, was mainly a Muslim town.¹ In about 1904, the Muslims numbered some 2700 of an estimated total population of 3000. The latter figure would rise to between 4000 and 4500 during the dry season (December-April) when the merchant caravans from the northern savanna visited the city.² Similar to the pattern of settlement at Bighu, each Dyula clan or lineage lived in a gabīla which was divided into a number of compounds occupied by individual families. Together the quarters formed the central 'Wangara' section on the periphery of which were smaller animist (Gbin, Numu, Wandara, Loro), and mixed Muslim and animist (Malaga, Hausa and Derebou) quarters. Some lineages (for example, Timitay, Qunbala, Donzo-Watara) had more than one quarter which were often separated by others. The market--there seems to have been only one--was located in the predominantly Muslim section. Near that area was the large French post and a Timitay gabīla.³ There were three mosques, one of which the Friday (jum'a) mosque, was adjacent to the Imām's compound.⁴

¹Clozel, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 56. According to Captain R. La Touche Lonsdale (Further Correspondence Regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, C. 3386, August 1882, p. 124) who was in Bondoukou from 8-29 June 1882, the town was "about three miles in extreme circumference . . ."

²Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 196.

³Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 187; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 69; Joseph, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 211-2.

⁴Binger, Niger, II, p. 162; R. Austin Freeman,

Each patronymic group was in large measure independent with respect to religion, trade, civil and criminal justice and intra-group social affairs. Each quarter was usually headed by its eldest member who was the supreme political authority and imām of its local muṣallā or mosque where daily prayers were generally held.¹ The section chief adjudicated in ordinary cases involving members of his lineage who were not his close relatives; the Imām of the town could participate in the hearings, but his decisions were not binding.² Marriages could be performed by the head of the gabīla, though again, the Imām was often requested to officiate at such functions.³

Undoubtedly the most politically important gabīla was that of the Timitays. It was their quarter which produced the imāms, a practice continuing to this day. However, it was not a rule of customary law that the imām be a Timitay. He was chosen by the community from

Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1898), pp. 217-21; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 284; Paul Marty, Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Émile Larose, 1922), p. 220. There were twelve mosques in the Cercle.

¹Benquey, "Coutumes des Mandés de Bondoukou", in F.-J. Clozel and Roger Villamur, eds., Les Coutumes Indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1902), pp. 271, 276-7; Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

²Benquey, "Coutumes", pp. 298-9.

³Benquey, "Coutumes", pp. 278-81.

among a number of prominent candidates "ou les plus intrigants de chaque famille". Moreover, an itinerant or visiting teacher who was considered very learned and pious and desired to settle in Bondoukou could also have been elected to the imāmate.¹

The duties of the imām included leading the Friday prayers and delivering the khutba; in the event of his incapacitation, this function was performed by his deputy, nā'ibu, who could belong to another clan.² The imām was the sole judge in cases involving a relative of a Muslim chief. However, if one of the litigants was a Timitay, the case was heard by a panel of judges consisting of qabīla heads, though the proceedings were carried out in the presence of the imām and with some degree of participation from him.³ Theoretically, he could reverse a decision of a quarter head, but political considerations often may have demanded his neutrality. Presumably there remained some margin in which an imām could use his religio-political influence in the internal affairs of other families.

Second to the imām in the overall leadership of the community was the shehu Wangara, 'commander in war'.⁴

¹Marty, Études, p. 249.

²Marty, Études, p. 250.

³Benquey, "Coutumes", p. 302; Tauxier, Le Noir du Soudan (Paris: Émile Larose, 1912), p. 394.

⁴Freeman, Travels, pp. 193, 204, 205; Holden, inter-

He was the eldest of the qabīla heads, excluding the Timitays. His function, of course, became obsolete with the establishment of colonial rule. Thereafter, the war leader may have performed somewhat the same duties of a muḥāsib in medieval Muslim communities of North Africa and the Middle East.¹ That is, he was concerned with violations of the moral code and the honesty of merchants with respect to weights and measures.

Communal activity was intense and continuous at the level of each quarter; between the quarters, however, there were few activities on a daily basis. Daily prayers were performed in the various quarters; Friday prayers, though held in the Timitay qabīla, were not always attended by persons or families (such as Qunbalas) who did not accept Timitay leadership.² Inter-lineage marriages were surprisingly discouraged.³ Each familial unit saw itself as separate from the other, except for the common ethnic and religious identity of Dyula and Islam. Although ill feelings and conflicts of interests naturally occurred, these seem to have been limited to violations of the moral

view with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

¹This information was obtained informally from a number of informants such as Imām Timitay and al-Ḥājj Boyo.

²Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

³Benquey, "Coutumes", p. 280.

code involving women and rivalry for the imāmate.¹

The Market

The mainstay of Dyula power was their monopoly of Gyaman's trade. In spite of their almost total dependence upon the indigenous peoples (particularly the Gbin and Nafana) for their staple foods such as yams and maize, the Dyula not only controlled the external trade of the country but also the internal distribution of commodities of local origin. The market of Bondoukou, the main 'public institution', has been well described by Freeman, and to a lesser extent by Binger and Lonsdale. It was comprised of two almost separate sections, stalls and booths. In the stalls, Muslim women engaged in "petty trade . . . of local produce . . . of daily domestic wants". These consisted of mostly edible products such as salt, shea butter, corn, maize, sweet potatoes, rice, peas, white beans, yams, cocoyams, kolas, ground-nuts, pumpkinseeds, plantains, apples, pineapples and pawpaws.² Most vegetables and fruits were produced in various places in the Ivory Coast, and bought directly by Muslim merchants from animist agriculturalists. As skillful speculators, the Dyulas would purchase large quantities of produce at times--for example, the dry season and when the poll tax was due--when farmers were anxious and willing to sell at very low

¹Marty, Études, pp. 226-7; Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

²Freeman, Travels, pp. 234-5.

prices. These items were then re-sold when they could obtain the highest prices--for example, the rainy season. By such methods they extended their commercial control into the hinterlands of the country and constituted a danger to the colonial commercial establishments in the interior.¹

Larger transactions in imported goods were conducted in the booths and homes of wealthy merchants who "... consider it beneath their dignity to expose their goods in the market [stalls]". Apart from the local Dyulas, the big merchants were from such northern centers as Bobo-Dioulasso, Timbuctu, Segou, Macina, Katsina, Kano, Sokoto, Salaga, Kong and Kuka (Bornu). Their wares consisted of leather sandals, slippers, satchels and bottles, skins, cotton cloth, woolen rugs, beef, mutton, goats and horses. Articles of European (French, German and British) manufacture were also available, but were not in great demand in the latter part of the 19th century. These consisted of silken shawls, handkerchiefs, neckerchiefs, printed cotton cloth, thread, coral necklaces, pearls, copper rods, fishing hooks and mirrors. The medium of exchange was cowries (kurdi) and sometimes gold.²

At the beginning of the 20th century--and probably earlier--local industry was of little significance. Benquey reported that local craftsmen were largely dyers (Hausas)

¹Marty, Études, pp. 398-9.

²Binger, Niger, II, pp. 164, 168-9; Freeman, Travels, pp. 238-9.

and smiths (Numu). However, the latter did not produce enough to satisfy the local market, as Bondoukou imported about twenty thousand francs worth of hatchets, hoes and other metal instruments from the French Sudan and the Gold Coast in 1901-2. Metal jewelry, too, was made in Kumasi and Accra and imported into Bondoukou.¹

The most significant import-export items were beef, mutton,² shea-butter and red kolas. The first three were brought from the northern French-controlled territories, more than half distributed locally and the remainder re-routed to the Gold Coast. Red kolas, the most desired specie, were imported from the Gold Coast and re-sold to northern merchants. The total value of external trade for the year 1901-2 was 792,553 francs (imports: 566,408, exports: 226,145).³

In this chapter an attempt has been made to give a general idea about the founding and development of Bondoukou as a Dyula enclave and trading town which was geographically

¹Benquey, "Bondoukou", pp. 196, 213.

²Although Dyulas were very rarely engaged in agriculture, they were expert cattle-raisers. Beef and mutton were important meats of which much was consumed during Ramaḍān. Muslims generally adhered to the Quranic regulations concerning the slaughter of permissible animals, and this may partly account for the Muslim Hausa monopoly on butcher trade; see Marty, *Études*, p. 396.

³Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 213.

part of Gyaman, but culturally very distinct. Bondoukou can hardly be expected to have escaped the political and economic maneuvers of its powerful neighbors--African and European--whose expansionist aims necessitated their control over this emporium. The following chapter is concerned with the events of the 19th century which profoundly affected the Gyaman kingdom and the Muslim sub-state.

CHAPTER II

THE FALL OF GYAMAN: ASANTE, SAMORIAN AND FRENCH RULE IN BONDOUKOU

The Establishment of Asante Rule in Gyaman

From the mid-18th to the end of the 19th century political life in Gyaman was determined by the conflict between pro- and anti-Asante factions. The Asante considered the Abron their kin and natural subjects of their rule. The first Asante invasion of Gyaman was initiated by the well known state-builder Osei Tutu in 1720¹ at which time Gyamanhene Abo was defeated and compelled to pay an annual tribute of one hundred peredwins (225 ounces) in gold to Asante.² In spite of a crushing defeat, Gyaman was to be a recalcitrant and restive victim which would attempt to regain its independence at the first opportunity. This state of humiliation was to take expression through a cessation of tribute payments and a number of revolts beginning in 1740.³

¹Thomas E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (London: John Murray, 1819), p. 234; Joseph Dupuis, Journal of a Residence in Ashantee (London: Henry Colburn, 1824), p. 230; John Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968), p. 9.

²W. Walton Claridge, A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti (2 vols.; London: Frank Cass, 1964), I, p. 228.

³Claridge, History, I, p. 210; Dupuis, Journal, p. 223; Beecham, Ashantee, p. 15.

For the purpose of this study, the last significant Gyaman-Asante war was in 1817-8; it was of great importance for the Dyula of Bondoukou. Hitherto the Muslim leadership seems to have taken refuge in the Watara state of Kong or elsewhere.¹ A number of politico-economic moves had been executed by the Asante that were considered by the Gyamans as detrimental to their interests. There had been a political change in Kumasi that was viewed by the Bondoukou Dyulas with much disfavor. In 1798 Osei Kwame, who had obvious proclivities toward Islam, was charged with the recent murder of the Asante heir-apparent Opoku Kwame. In the struggle, Osei Kwame was destooled. Dupuis also showed that Osei Kwame's strong inclinations toward Islam and his desire to make Muslim law the code of the empire was another cause of his deposition.² In accordance with Asante's plans to maximize her expanding trade connections with eastern Ghana, particularly Salaga, the Kumasi government undertook the construction of new roads in the east, presumably at the expense of Bondoukou's traders.¹ Gyamanhene Adinkra, until about 1817 "a tool

¹Maurice Delafosse, Les Frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire de la Côte d'Or et du Soudan (Paris: Masson et C^{ie}, 1908), pp. 230-2.

²Dupuis, Journal, p. 245.

³For a modern treatment of the diversion of trade to the east, see Ivor G. Wilks, "Asante Government and Politics in the 19th Century", (2 vols.; to be published by Cambridge University Press, 1974), II, pp. 339, 343-4,

of the court of Coomassy", was so annoyed by Asante's economic policies that he chanced the making of a golden stool in imitation of that of the Asantehene and transferred Gyaman's tribute to Kong. The Kumasi elders took a decision severely to punish Gyaman and to incorporate it firmly into Greater Asante. In 1818 Osei Bonsu himself led the Asante army into Bondoukou; Adinkra was beheaded, many Gyamans were taken prisoners to Kumasi and the status of the Abron chieftaincy was changed from that of a tributary to a province of Asante.¹ Among the captives was the Imām of Bondoukou, Muhammad al-Aswad (d. ca. 1240-1/1824-5) who "after promising by solemn oath and written treaty that neither he nor his people [presumably the Dyulas] would ever be hostile to Asante, he was set free" and returned to Bondoukou.²

Though no specific political or commercial concessions are known to have been given to the Dyulas, it appears that their general condition improved. The present Imām states that

The war between the Asante and Gyamans

347-8, 353.

¹Dupuis, Journal, pp. 98-9, 164-5, 263-4; Bowdich, Mission, pp. 244-5; Claridge, History, i, p. 300; W.E.F. Ward, A History of Ghana (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), pp. 168-70.

²Carl C. Reindorf, The History of the Gold Coast and Asante (Basel: Basel Mission Book Depot, n.d.), pp. 164-5.

gave Islam a considerable opportunity in Bondoukou. The Asantehene at that time was Bonsu.¹

This statement may be interpreted, as indicated by the informant, to mean that such restrictions as the Abron imposed upon the Dyula traders were modified, and that their political position vis-à-vis the Gyaman chief was thus strengthened. That Osei Bonsu was favorably disposed toward Muslims is well documented; however, it would be unwise to attempt a definitive statement of Asante-Dyula relations until further research is completed. Gyaman remained the political orbit of Asante until it was conquered by Samori in 1895.

British and Asante Interests in Gyaman

The political situation in the Abron chieftaincy in the latter part of the 19th century was far from quiescent. Paramount chief Agyeman suffered widespread disfavor among his divisional chiefs who did not share his desire to cast off Asante rule.² The situation was further complicated by the British who had defeated Asante in 1874 and subsequently sought to aid Agyeman and his supporters in their moves to break with Kumasi. The British government was interested in the trade of Gyaman. Asante, knowing clearly the aims of the British, had the task of taking

¹A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām al-Hājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

²Claridge, History, II, p. 211.

all steps necessary to prevent Gyaman secession, short of direct military action.

During the late 1870's Britain wished to capitalize on the efforts of King Asafo Agyei of Dwaben, whose attempt to gain independence from Asante had resulted in the devastation of his realm. With the full knowledge of the Gold Coast government, some Dwabens entered Bondoukou to inform Agyeman that with British support they were preparing to invade Asante, and that Gyaman should join them.¹ Political division among the leading Gyaman chiefs prevented any mobilization of the Abron army. At most the Dwabens were supported by a relatively small number of fighters who were loyal to the Gyamanhene. In any case, the incursions into Asante were of little consequence; the inhabitants of Berekum were able to repel the insurgents without Kumasi's help.²

The foiled indirect attempt of Cape Coast to divide northwestern Asante was followed by direct intervention. The internal political struggle between Agyeman and his

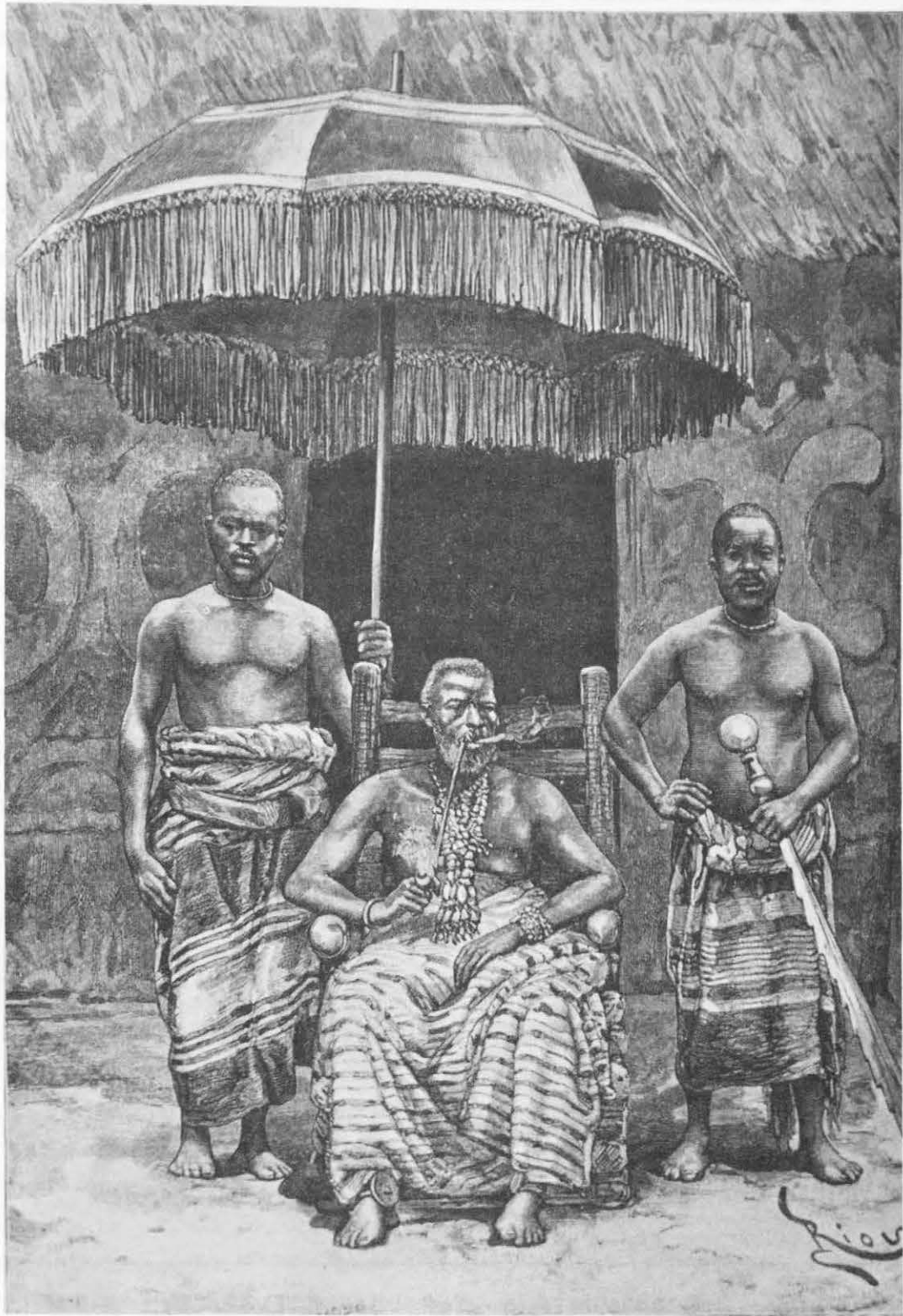
¹London. Public Record Office (PRO), C.O. 96/120, no. 32, Freeling to Carnarvon, 20 January 1877. For a more detailed study of Asante-British-Gyaman relations using PRO documents, see Francis Agbodeka, African Politics and British Policy in the Gold 1868-1900: A study in the forms and force of protest (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), chapter four; Wilks, "Asante Government", II, Chapter Nine.

²PRO, C.O. 96/128, no. 251, enclosure 2, in Ussher to Hicks Beach, 8 November 1879.

dissident chiefs was growing in intensity. Concerned with his personal fate and the possible maneuvers of Kumasi, in January 1877 Agyeman joined the anti-Asante chief of Sefwi in submitting a formal request for British aid in the form of planning and ammunition to launch an attack against Asante, and the presence of a European official in Bondoukou to help give Gyaman the appearance of an independent kingdom. The Colonial Office responded favorably to their request.¹ In the same month an Asante mission was dispatched to Cape Coast requesting the British to cease their aid to the refugee Dwabens, Sefwi and Gyaman.² The government was not prepared to accede to this demand. Another Asante mission under the trusted Danish military advisor, C. Nielson, was dispatched directly to Gyaman; however, Nielson died of exposure to the sun, and his Fante second-in-command, Huydecoper, became chief envoy. His task was to persuade Agyeman to agree to desist from robbing Asante traders of their gold (presumably taken from Gyaman), to re-open the trade routes to Asante and to stop giving refuge to anti-Asante leaders in neighboring territories. Huydecoper was also instructed to give all possible aid to Agyeman's

¹PRO, C.O. 96/120, no. 39, Freeling to Carnarvon, 26 January 1877; C.O. 96/126, no. 106, Lees to Hicks Beach, and enclosure 1, 5 May 1879.

²PRO, C.O. 96/120, no. 31, Freeling to Carnarvon, 20 January 1877.



1. Gyamanhene Agyeman and Two Sons. (From L. Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, II, p. 175).

half-brother and partisan of Asante, Prince Kokobo at Banda, in order to gain the throne of Gyaman.¹ Negotiations were interrupted in July 1879 by the arrival in Bondoukou of Commissioner John Smith and some Hausa troops in response to the Gyamanhene's earlier request. The Asante mission, accompanied by three prominent Gyaman chiefs, withdrew and went to Banda.²

A result of the Asantehene's mission, however, was the strengthening of the pro-Kumasi party in Bondoukou which seems to have been led by Chief Papi. It is probably correct, as suggested by Agbodeka, that "It was this development that foiled Smith's mission and the aims of the war party in Gyaman".³ He was initially unable to get a full meeting of the chiefs; when he finally did, in late August, they were not disposed to a discussion of British protection and trade. At their last meeting, on 23 August, when the Gyamanhene had the support of only one of his chiefs and Princess Akosuah, the pro-Asante group

threw off all disguise, openly denounced Ajiman as their enemy, and flatly refused to have anything to do with him. Mr. Smith then left [24 August] for the coast, having persuaded Ajiman, who had been anxious to accompany him

¹PRO, C.O. 96/128, no. 251, enclosures 1-2, Ussher to Hicks Beach, 8 November 1879.

²Claridge, History, II, p. 212.

³Agbodeka, African Politics, pp. 89-90.

for protection, to remain in his country and try to assert his position.¹

The next day, 24 August, Prince Kokobo, entered Gyaman to seize power. Overtaken some forty-five miles from Bondoukou by Agyeman's messengers who requested his help, Smith declined and continued his journey to Cape Coast.² Thus the British Gold Coast Colony and Agyeman temporarily failed to end Asante rule in Gyaman; but Kokobo's efforts were also in vain, and for some reason unknown to the writer, Agyeman remained paramount chief and restive under the hegemony of Kumasi.

Gyaman-Asante relations soon became strained again, and in 1882 Kumasi was considering war with Gyaman. Among the main causes of the dispute was the antagonistic acts of Banda at the instigation of Inkrusima, chief of Badu. The Bandas were attacked in the late 1870's by the chief of Bona, a town north of Banda, and were driven from their land.³ The refugees were given asylum by Agyeman who agreed to participate in arbitrating the matter. His representatives were, however, killed by some Bandas. The Banda went still further in January 1882 by murdering seventeen Gyaman merchants (probably Dyulas) on their return from Salaga; this incident was probably encouraged by anti-Gyaman elements in Asante. Gyaman fighters

¹Claridge, History, I, p. 212.

²Claridge, History, I, p. 213.

³Claridge, History, I, p. 256-7.

invaded Banda, and in May defeated Wenchi and Nsoko. A few years later Gyaman traders were not permitted to use the Salaga and Kintampo roads.¹

In the tense situation which ensued, the British sent Captain Lonsdale to Kumasi and Bondoukou to avert a war between Gyaman and Asante. Lonsdale's mission was successful in two ways. Firstly, it accomplished a temporary relaxation of tension by the extraction of a promise from Agyeman that he would not retaliate in the event of an Asante attack. This concession was of major importance, as in taking this decision the Gyamanhene was opposed by at least one of his most prominent chiefs, Papi, "the principal mover in the ebullition against the Ashantis" and the chief who led a section of the Gyaman army in the invasion of Banda. This may also be an indication of an improvement in the political position of Agyeman, though the rivalry between the contending factions for leadership continued. Secondly, Lonsdale's visit as a peace-maker had the effect of improving the British image in both capitals, thus increasing her ability to have direct influence in the affairs of Gyaman. The officer "impressed upon the King the advisability of sending messengers to the coast frequently. Even should there be nothing of particular moment to report, it would tend to keep up the friendly relations existing between the

¹Wilks, "Asante Government", II, pp. 380-1.

Government and himself".¹

The Dyulas were to benefit from the general tranquility created by the above negotiations. In August 1882, Imām Ibrāhīm sent messengers to the coast to notify the British that Muslim traders who had suffered from the previous conditions, would arrive there shortly. By 1888 they were not only traversing the main routes, but were also to be found in central Asante.²

Anglo-French Treaties with Gyaman

Britain thought her position in Gyaman secure; indeed, she was more influential there in 1888 than previously. But she either neglected or was unaware of the extent of French colonial penetration in the Ivory Coast. More significantly, Cape Coast or the British representative at Kumasi may not have known the intended policy of the new Asantehene Dwaku Dua III (Prempeh I) of regaining firm control over the northwestern provinces.³ There is reason to believe that Agyeman, however, was more in tune with the new policies of Asante. In view of the apparent deterioration of the situation, both internal and external,

¹R. La Touche Lonsdale, Further Correspondence Regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, C. 3386, August 1882, pp. 118, 123.

²Lonsdale, Further Correspondence, C. 3687, 1883, p. 71; C. 5357, 1888, pp. 62-3; Wilks, "Asante Government", II, p. 385.

³William Tordoff, Ashanti Under the Prempehs 1888-1935 (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 33.

Agyeman formally requested the visit of a Cape Coast mission to Bondoukou for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of protection. The British envoys did not arrive until late January 1888.¹

Meanwhile, a French explorer, Treich-Laplène, had been actively engaged in concluding treaties of protection with the chiefdoms of Sanwi, Betti, Indenie and Yakasse. The colonial contest between Britain and France in the central region and hinterlands of the Ivory Coast was well underway. Treich-Laplène arrived in Bondoukou and concluded a treaty with Agyeman on 13 November 1888 the articles of which are set out below.

Article premier. Le roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou déclare placer son pays sous l'amitié et la protection de la France.

Article 2. Le Gouverneur du Sénégal reconnaît Adjimin comme roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou et lui promet amitié et protection.

Article 3. Le commerce se fera librement entre les sujets français du pays d'Assinie, de Grand-Bassam, de l'Indénié, de Bettié et les sujets de l'Abron et du Bondoukou.

Article 4. Le roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou s'engage à préserver de tout pillage les caravanes qui viendraient chez lui et à laisser

¹R. Austin Freeman, Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1898), p. 190. Doctor Freeman was a member of the mission.

libre l'accès de son pays.

Article 5. Le gouvernement français s'engage à faire ouvrir et entretenir une route entre le pays de l'Abron et celui d'Assinie.

Article 6. Les gens du pays de l'Abron et du Bondoukou sont libres néanmoins d'aller commercer en pays autres que ceux du territoire français.

Article 7. Les contestations qui pourraient s'élever entre les gens du pays de l'Abron et ceux des pays voisins seront portées devant les autorités françaises qui jugeront. En aucunes circonstances, les opérations ne pourront être suspendues par ordres des chefs indigènes.

Article 8. Une rente annuelle, dont le chiffre ne sera pas inférieur à trois mille francs, sera payée au roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou comme présent d'amitié et pour l'entretien des routes dans son pays.

Article 9. Le roi de l'Abron s'engage à ne conclure aucune convention avec les autres nations sans le consentement préalable de la France.

Article 10. Le présent traité servira de base aux relations entre le Gouvernement Français et le pays de l'Abron et du Bondoukou. Fait et signé en triple expédition au village de Zaranou ou Aminvi.¹

¹F. J. Amon d'Aby, La Côte d'Ivoire dans la Cité

Treich-Laplène then went on to Kong where the pact was ratified by Captain Louis Binger about 5 January 1889.

British influence in the affairs of Gyaman was waning. This became clear to the mission led by Inspector Lethbridge when it arrived at Soko, a village near Bondoukou, which was politically submissive to Chief Papi. R. Austin Freeman, a member of the party, related that the imminent failure of the mission was apparent when Agyeman's messenger to the Coast who was accompanying the mission, stated he had information that the king had accepted French protection.¹ Nevertheless they entered the town and were promised an audience with Agyeman the following day. They soon learned that the king was in serious danger of losing control of his state. His son, Diawusu, had been deposed as chief of Mo by "the redoubtable Papi whom we had been led to regard as our especial enemy".

The indigenous attendance of the subsequent meeting is instructive. On Agyeman's right sat Chief Boitin, "principal advisor and the commander of the army . . . /who/ did not regard us with great favor, and was a firm

Africaine (Paris: Éditions Larose, 1951), pp. 184-5; Maurice Delafosse, "Afrique Occidentale Française", in Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau, eds., Histoire des Colonies Française (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1913), pp. 274-5.

¹Freeman, Travels, pp. 176, 182-3. Freeman (p. 183) also states "that two French officers were then staying with Papi . . ."

opponent of Diawusi".¹ On the same side was the friendly Kokobo, chief of Sappidi, the earlier pro-Kumasi prince who attempted to seize power after Smith's departure in 1879. Agyeman's left side was dominated by the aged Papi who had fought with the Asante against Sir Charles McCarthy at the battle of Asamankow in January 1824.² Representative of the Dyulas were Imām Ibrāhīm Timitay, the religious and temporal head of the Muslims "in all matters of a peaceable nature" and 'Alī "nominally the civil head of the Mohammedans . . . and . . . their leader in the war".³ Of those persons, undoubtedly Agyeman and Ibrāhīm were the most pro-British participants in the proceedings; Kokobo may have vacillated between a neutral position and a pro-British stance.

Agyeman apologetically explained that though he had received Treich-Laplène, signed a treaty and accepted a French flag, he had not accepted French protection. He stated that his main interest had been to maintain trade with the French port of Krinjabo, to which "the greater part of the trade of Jaman had been diverted . . . in consequence of the unsafe state of the Kumase road", and cordial relations generally. However, he preferred

¹Freeman, Travels, p. 203.

²Freeman, Travels, pp. 203-4; Wilks, "Asante Government", II, pp. 221, 384.

³Freeman, Travels, pp. 204-5.

to resume normal trade with the British colony from which his traders, probably most of whom were Dyulas, had been periodically cut off following the Asante-British war of 1874.¹ His offer to disregard the French agreement in favor of a British treaty appealed to Lethbridge because it was a step toward reducing the traditional tension between Gyaman and Asante, thus giving Britain more interior markets and the prospects of greater stability in the area. Lethbridge accepted a treaty, which bore the Arabic signature of Imām Ibrāhīm among others, on 24 January 1889 and started for Cape Coast to obtain ratification of the document. He soon discovered that the instrument was useless as the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, established in 1888 to delineate the northwestern frontiers, had already decided that Bondoukou was to be part of French Gyaman; the agreement, however, was not signed until 10 August 1888.² News of the British mission's failure, wrote Freeman, "occasioned great rejoicing" The last official meeting was held in the Timitay quarter where "we handed over to the Limamu, as the King's representative, the French flags and treaty which we had received from Ajiman. We then wished our friend farewell"³

It is significant that the failure of the negotiations was a political gain for chief Papi whose adamant

¹Freeman, Travels, pp. 205-6.

²Claridge, History, II, pp. 328, 336.

³Freeman, Travels, pp. 332-3.

stand against John Smith's counsels in 1879 certainly did not endear him to the Gold Coast government. On this last occasion he went even further in his hostile behavior by publicly announcing that the mission's presence was not desired, and that its departure would "be witnessed with great satisfaction by the Jamans in general and himself in particular".¹ The Imām and the Dyula traders lost a potential benefit, for an Anglo-Gyaman treaty would have almost guaranteed their access to the main Asante routes to the coast; Asante would have been at pains to interfere with their activities.

The Samorian Conquest of Gyaman

The establishment of Samorian hegemony over Gyaman was not in the Almami's initial plans; his occupation of Bondoukou was a matter of military expediency. The career of Samori Ture suffered a setback in 1888 at the seige of Sikasso.² This turn of fortune was followed by increased French advances and a considerable rebellion of peoples in his western empire. Although he was able to suppress

¹Freeman, Travels, p. 297. This remark was followed "by no means polite speech" about the mission. Major Ewart's attempt to punish Papi almost caused fighting between the visitors and the Muslim Gyamans. Finally, aware of the gravity of the situation, the officer accepted Agyeman's offer to pay instead of Papi; see pp. 297-305.

²For a full account of the Sikasso war and its results see Yves Person, Samori: Une revolution Dyula (2 vols.; Dakar: IFAN, 1968), II, Chapter IX.

the latter in the following two years, the Almami was forced by his immediate circumstances to either pursue a course of certain failure or to abandon his field of operations and to seek new ones. He chose the latter alternative, and in 1893, pushed further east carrying with him what fighters, ammunitions and people he could salvage.¹ If he was to succeed in the east, his first task was to re-organize his badly shattered army which had encountered tremendous losses at Sikasso. To overcome his arms problem he sought the continued goodwill of the British at Freetown who, until they enforced the Brussels Act in 1892, allowed him to purchase modern weapons in large numbers.² Having abandoned his old empire in the west he set about building a new domain in the east, most of which was within the present limits of the Ivory Coast.

To establish his eastern empire, he was obliged to conquer and incorporate new peoples, avoiding the French whenever possible. Between 1892 and 1893 the sofas succeeded in destroying the Nafana chieftaincy west of

¹Person, "Guinea-Samori", in Michael Crowder, ed., West African Resistance: The military response to colonial occupation (London: Hutchinson & Company Ltd., 1971), p. 136.

²Person, "Guinea-Samori", p. 133; John D. Hargreaves, "West African States and the European Conquest", in L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 (3 vols.; London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), I, p. 208.

Odienne and the Senufo of Nkalakadugu.¹ This was followed by further consolidation, additional conquests and preparations for future contingencies. However, these military maneuvers caused concern in Paris about the possibility of Bassam being separated from the French Sudan and Kong. This eventually led to the dispatching of the famous Monteil column which besieged Samori in Djimini, but was crushed by the sofas in March 1895.² His next important move, for our purposes, was his confrontation with the Abron.

In the middle of 1895, Samori's interest in Gyuman was primarily economic. He wished to use the trade routes of the kingdom which would have afforded him access to both the French and British coastal ports; from the latter he may have been able to purchase arms and ammunition either directly or indirectly. In addition, there was the prospect of obtaining provisions from the agriculturalist Kulango Gyamans as well as the market of Bondoukou.

The conquest of Gyaman from the northwest was a relatively easy matter, as the military attention of the kingdom was traditionally directed eastward toward Asante. Any large-scale mobilization toward the west--which would have been demanded by Samori's strength--would have seriously

¹Person, "Samori and Resistance to the French", in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds., Protest and Power in Black Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 104.

²Person, "Resistance", p. 105.

endangered the eastern front. In these circumstances, a contingent of Gyamans, including some Muslim fighters under the command of Karamoko 'Alī, took the offensive and advanced to the Comoe River where the first encounter took place.¹ This could hardly have been more than a tactic to delay a Samorian attack. The Gyamans were soundly routed and forced to retreat; the Muslim war leader, 'Alī, returned to Bondoukou and related the outcome of the battle. About this time Agyeman frantically sought help from all the powers in the region: France, Britain and Asante. His request to Gyaman's French 'protectors' received no reply. In view of the Anglo-French boundary pact, the Gold Coast government was legally unable to interfere. Agyeman's appeal to Asante seems to have been blocked by the closing of the Nkoranza-Kumasi road.² Thus Gyaman lay open to conquest.

Samori's army, the sofas, entered Bondoukou in July 1895 having encountered negligible resistance; Agyeman was driven into exile.³ A witness to the incident states that "the closest the war came to Bonduku" was Maryayiri

¹J.J. Holden, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

²PRO, C.O. 96/259: letter from Agyeman, August 1895 in Maxwell to Chamberlain, 19 August 1895; see Tordoff, Ashanti, pp. 64-5, and Wilks, "Asante Government", II, p. 394.

³PRO, C.O. 96/259: telegram from Maxwell to Chamberlain 17 August 1895.



(possibly Marau, about thirty miles west of the city). The conquerors found Bondoukou almost empty. Agyeman had fled to Dadiasse (about thirty miles southwest of Bondoukou) and Imām Ibrāhīm and other Timitays to Japekron (in northwestern Ghana).¹ Among those who remained was the learned Tijānī faqīh, al-Ḥājj Mukhtār Diabi, who is said to have known Samori in his boyhood and reprimanded him for his actions: ". . . Why do you make war on a town when I am here?"² Bondoukou tradition states that the Almami respected Mukhtār and that the latter coaxed him into allowing the people to return and concluding a settlement with the Gyamanhene and the Imām. However, Mukhtār did not fully trust Samori and preferred to use his own Qurʾān to that of the Almami in the peace ceremony.³ Peace having been concluded, Samori withdrew to his principal camp at Dabakala via Koko. His chief lieutenants at Bondoukou were Bakari and Sanasi, son of al-Ḥājj Mukhtār; they were, however, under the command of Samori's son, heir and leader of the eastern armies, Sarankye-Mori.⁴

¹Holden, interviews with Imām Timitay and Bābā ʿAlī Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968.

²Holden, interview with al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Watara, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

³Holden, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968; al-Ḥājj Yahyā Watara, 15 March 1968; al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Watara, 16 March 1968; Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, 16 March 1968.

⁴Person, Samori, II, p. 1104-5.

Samori was aware of the political value of establishing contact with Asante and the British. Some dialogue seems to have been opened with Prempeh as early as 1894, the character of which is as yet unknown.¹ However, after the subjugation of Gyaman, Samori sent a message to Kumasi explaining that he had conquered the country because Agyeman had refused him access to the trade routes. In reply, Prempeh sent a mission, which is said to have numbered three hundred, carrying one hundred ounces of gold, as well as other presents, and a request for aid in re-taking his lost territories and re-opening the Nkoranza road.² Samori's price for such help was too high, some one thousand ounces; thus the matter appears to have ended. About the same time, Samori sent a message to Governor Maxwell informing him that he had broken relations with the French and now desired to become a British subject.³ Again Britain was unable to act. In November Samori received a note from Maxwell informing him that an attack upon Kumasi was imminent, and that the Almami should not interfere.⁴ Samori replied through his Gold Coast

¹Agbodeka, African Politics, p. 160.

²PRO, C.O. 96/261: Stewart to Governor, 11 October 1895, in Maxwell to Chamberlain, 25 October 1895; Tordoff, Ashanti, p. 65; Wilks, "Asante Government", II, p. 395; see Holden, interview with Ainsata bint Kwame Amoah, Nwankaw (? Nsawhaw), 12 March 1968.

³PRO, C.O. 96/260: Samori to Governor, n.d., in Maxwell to Chamberlain, 6 September 1895.

⁴PRO, C.O. 96/262: Governor to 'The Almamy Samory',

messengers that he had no intention of attacking any territory under British protection; he also reiterated his desire to serve Britain.¹ Hence, for the moment, there was no threat to Samorian rule in Bondoukou; the French were not to intervene directly until 1897.

Samorian Government in Bondoukou

Unfortunately we have little information about the details of Samori's peace agreement with Bondoukou; such may only be surmised from written and oral information stating the obligations of the town. It is well known that Samori wished to increase his supply of modern rifles. If he had anticipated the presence of a considerable arms cache in Bondoukou, as suggested by Legassick,² then he may have been disappointed, for Bondoukou does not seem to have had a large quantity of weapons.³ The cavalry

in Maxwell to Chamberlain, 25 November 1895.

¹PRO, C.O. 96/263: Maxwell to Chamberlain, 10 December 1895.

²M. Legassick, "Firearms, Horses and Samorian Army Organization 1870-1898" in Journal of African History, (JAH), VII, No. 1 (1966), p. 103.

³Concerning the Muslims ("Mandings"), Dupuis (Journal, p. xxxvii) wrote: "Thier warlike weapons are scimiters, bows and arrows, darts, and lances of the old Arab construction..." Bowdich (Mission, p. 335) reports that Asante did not permit the export of guns and powder to her powerful neighbors, and presumably the passage of such weapons through her territory to the same was also not allowed. However, Freeman (Travels, pp. 300-302 passim) saw muskets in the possession of Muslim Gyamans,

and perhaps some infantrymen did possess some rifles which were probably purchased from French ports or even Kong. But there is nothing in my sources which indicates that the Dyulas bought and stored ammunitions as a matter of course. The probability is that Samori wished to intercept the flow of arms to Wa which were purchased at Krinjabo and passed through Bondoukou.¹ However, the sofas were able to have arms manufactured and repaired by the Gyaman smiths, the Numus, who were taken to Djimini or Dabakala.² With regard to the strengthening of the Samorian forces, the recruitment of fighters was almost nil. Hopefully, future research will explain his failure to utilize the existing military effectives of Bondoukou.

Samori therefore needed currency which would be acceptable in the coastal European markets. The incorporation of Gyaman, particularly Bondoukou, served this end. The traditional authority of the Gyamanhene over gold production was presumably restricted or ended, and the

but he gives no indication as to their number. For a recent study of weapons in the region, see "Papers on Firearms in Sub-Saharan Africa, I", JAH, XII, No. 2 (1971).

¹Louis G. Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi (2 vols.; Paris: Hachette, 1892), II, p. 102.

²Gaston Joseph, Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Bulletin Mensuel, October-December (1915), p. 204; idem., La Côte d'Ivoire: Le pays-Les Habitants (Paris: Émile Larose, 1917), p. 212; Person, Samori, II, p. 920; Legassick, "Firearms", p. 104.

deposits at Assikaso were used to purchase ammunition.¹ Salia (Ṣālih) Cissé, Imām of Bouna, is reported to have said that Samori promised not to destroy Bondoukou if the inhabitants would deliver to him "mille pépites d'or grosses comme le poing".² Whether such amount was indeed collected is not known; however, a recent informant states that "Bonduku collected gold in copper basins for Samori . . .".³ Some Gyaman captives and slaves were bartered to Asante for gold and gun powder.⁴ The special Islamic tax, however, the zakāt (dyaka), was not collected. Samori had abolished this tax in his eastern territories in 1893.⁵

It appears that there was some trade between Bondoukou

¹Person, Samori, II, p. 920. The ancient currency of Bondoukou was gold, but was later replaced by cowries. The latter seems to have remained the main medium of exchange until the French occupation, though Dyula merchants who traded with European ports probably had a number of pounds and francs.

²Paul Marty, Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922), p. 235.

³Holden, field notes, interview with Chief Fanyinama, Kintampo, 11 March 1968.

⁴Holden, interviews with Imām Timitay and Baba 'Alī Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968.

⁵Person, Samori, p. 895. The 'Great Revolt' of 1888 was partly due to Samori's religious demands on the conquered peoples; his subsequent decision to abolish the zakāt may have been connected with the de-emphasis on religious obligations, and thus to avoid a similar conflict.

and Samori's camp in such essentials as clothes and cloth.¹ Presumably these transactions ended to the disadvantage of the vanquished, as was the case with the Abron agriculturalists whose grains were requisitioned by the sofas and then resold to them at higher prices.²

Apart from the above, the Samorian period of Bondoukou's history wrought little political, religious and social change. The political structure was broadened to include the new military elements, the sofas, whose activities gave little or no indication that they intended to settle permanently; there was no mass settlement of people in Gyaman, and the Samorian leaders, with the exception of Bakari and Sanasi, do not seem to have resided in the metropolis. That there was not sufficient time to organize the newly acquired territory is unacceptable. It is probable that the closeness of the British and the French on the Ivory Coast were sufficient deterrents to any plans of permanent establishment. In any case, the senile Agyeman was left as de facto ruler of the Abron, only suffering interference when the needs of the sofas had to be met. The power of the influential Papi was neutralized to the extent that he did not dare any overt attempt to cast off Samorian overlordship. One informant, who was ten years

¹Holden, interviews with Mahama (Muhammad) Watara, Imām Timitay, Baba 'Alī Watara, Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghata, Bondoukou, 14-16 March 1968, consecutively.

²Person, Samori, II, p. 924.

old at the time, states that "Papi was forced to be friends with Samory".¹ Undoubtedly it was a 'friendship' born of political expediency and survival.

The Muslim community was generally well-treated by the sofas, though some 'Malagas' (i.e. the old local Hausa settlers) are said to have been abused.² The Timitay imāmate was not only tolerated but supported (this may have been somewhat disappointing to some Jabaghatay and Qunbala aspirants to the imāmate).³ According to one informant, Imām Ibrāhīm was given a personal guard of "100 guns", as well as provisions of which there was presumably a shortage.⁴ Another informant states that

Samory promised the imām that he would put all the Gyamans under the imām. Imām said 'no, leave them as they are, they are our overlords and they feed us'.⁵

Assuming that his testimony is accurate, one may raise the question: why did not the Imām negotiate for full recognition of his authority over the Dyula enclave of Bondoukou? I suggest that he already had de facto

¹Holden, interview with Mahama Watara, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

²Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

³See Chapter III.

⁴Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.

⁵Holden, interview with Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

authority over the town, though he did not enjoy complete autonomy. This is indicated by the writings of such European visitors as Binger and Freeman during the pre-Samorian period.¹ The Gyaman kingdom was a collection of chieftaincies with a paramountcy which seldom provided a strong ruler in the 19th century. Though Bondoukou is often called the 'capital' of Gyaman, it was not the residence of the Gyamanhene.² It appears that the non-Muslim chief who had political influence in Bondoukou was Papi, whom Freeman called the 'ally' of the Imām.³ 'Alliance' is perhaps the most proper term to describe the Abron-Dyula relationship. The cement of the alliance was mutual dependence: the Dyulas needed food and a relatively strong host, but were neither agriculturalists nor

¹Louis G. Binger, Du Niger, II, p. 162; Freeman, Travels, p. 204.

²When Binger (Du Niger, p. 169-70, 177) visited Bondoukou in December 1888, Agyeman's capital was the village of Amenvi, about twenty-five miles southwest of Bondoukou. Indeed a number of commercial towns in northern Ivory Coast and Ghana were not the political capitals of the kingdoms. See Holden, interview with Karamoko Hārūna (Hārūn) Watara Kintampo, 10 March 1968, and Jean-Louis Boutillier, "La cité marchande de Bouna dans l'ensemble économique Ouest-Africain précolonial", in Claude Meillassoux, ed., The Development of Indigenous Trade & Markets in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 241 n 1.

³Freeman, Travels, p. 298. Abidjan. Archives Nationales de Côte d'Ivoire (ANCI), xv-42-108, No. 15, Administrateur au Gouverneur, 11 February 1910.

powerful enough to engage a formidable foe; the Abron wanted the benefits which derive from a prosperous trading town, but were not generally inclined toward trade. While the Gyamans accepted this status of the Muslims, they were not likely to relinquish their traditional retention of chieftaincy and acquiesce to de jure Muslim rule. It may have been that the Imām was cognizant of the ineluctable results of dislodging a chief. He may also have had some doubts about the permanency of the sofa occupation.

However, in spite of the Imām's refusal of Samori's offer, one important result of the latter's conquest was that it increased Muslim influence in Bondoukou: "Before Samory came, the power of the Muslims was weak, and Agyemen was hearing cases, but when Samory came, this gave power to the Muslims".¹ Presumably the Muslims were 'weak' relative to what they were after Samori's arrival. It is doubtful that Agyeman heard cases regularly, as he did not reside in the town.² This may be a reference to a specific case or cases involving Muslims and non-Muslim litigants, or Muslims who for some reason did not desire the Imām's adjudication. Whatever the situation may have been, the succeeding overlords, the French, were to further

¹Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

²Holden, interviews with Mahama (Muhammad) Watara, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968 and Imām Timitay, 14-15 March 1968; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972

enhance the position of the Muslims.

The Establishment of French Rule

The French occupation of Bondoukou was a reaction to the subjugation of the town by the sofas, and a military tactic further to narrow the territory in which Samori could operate.¹ The waning of Samorian hegemony became apparent in September 1897 with the arrival in the area of a British detachment from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under Colonel H.P. Northcott; the British had already forced the sofas to abandon Wa and Bole.² There are conflicting reports as to whether an appeal for British aid was sent to the Gold Coast.³ According to Bondoukou tradition, eighteen British soldiers from Fugula-Banda occupied Sorobango in pursuit of Samori. The sofa officers, Bakari and Sanasi, fearing a confrontation, escaped to Samori's camp at Dabakala. Almost simultaneous with the arrival of Northcott, a rumor was circulated that Samori was en route to Bondoukou. Finally, upon receipt of an official message that Samori was in Bouna, the officer started for the latter place accompanied

¹A. Le Chatelier, L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale (Paris: G. Steinheil, 1899), pp. 248, 250; F.-J. Clozel, Dix Ans à la Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1906), p. 52.

²Claridge, History, II, p. 426.

³Holden, interview with Mahama (Muhammad) Watara, al-Hājj 'Uthmān Watara, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968; Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

by Imām Kunandi and other Dyulas. When they arrived in Bouna, Colonel Northcott was informing Captain Clozel to proceed with the occupation of Bondoukou; thus Northcott was able to encourage the Imām's return and assure his safety.¹ That Imām Kunandi would abandon Bondoukou after Samori had expressed support for his office is not surprising; it is an indication of the gross uncertainties of political alliances.

Clozel and Lieutenant Lamblin arrived in Bondoukou 5 December 1897 with twenty-five soldiers and functionaries to make preparations for the permanent French occupation. He describes the town thusly:

La ville paraît à peu près déserte, fort sale, et présente, sur le chemin que nous suivons pour nous rendre chez Sitafa, pas mal de cases ruinées.²

He soon called a public meeting, which was attended by a few of the city's leaders, and assured them of Samori's imminent demise and the seriousness of his government's intentions to establish a French presence in the town.

Il y avait trois grands pays, Kong, le Djimini et Bondoukou, qui avaient accepté le protectorat de la France. Samory est venu et il a brisé Kong et le Djimini, que vous n'avez pas défendus. Puis il a marché sur Bondoukou. Nous avons lutté contre lui pendant cinq jours; plusieurs des nôtres ont été tués. Enfin, voyant que nous n'avions aucun secours

¹Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 51.

²Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 56.

à attendre, nous avons traité avec lui; il est entré à Bondoukou qu'il a occupé et fait occuper par son fils Bakary pendant de longs mois, et il nous a fait beaucoup de mal. Enfin, grâce à Dieu, les Anglais sont venus, ils ont chassé Bakary et nous avons pu vivre tranquilles. Voilà que tu arrives et que les Anglais sont partis; mais ils étaient plus de mille et tu viens avec vingt-cinq hommes. Comment pourras-tu nous protéger avec si peu de monde? Si Samori revient, tu t'en iras et nous serons encore plus malheureux qu'avant . . . Je suis à Bondoukou, j'y reste. Celui qui m'en fera sortir n'est pas encore sorti du ventre de sa mère. Je dis cela aussi bien pour Samory que pour ceux d'entre vous qui seraient assez fous pour tenter quelque chose contre moi. Je n'ai que vingt-cinq hommes, c'est vrai mais ils valent mille Anglais: la meilleure preuve que je puisse vous en donner, c'est qu'ils sont partis et que je suis là. Le gouverneur de la Côte d'Ivoire m'a dit d'aller à Bondoukou et de veiller sur vous . . . c'est ma tâche et j'ai assez de monde pour l'accomplir. Mais nous avons d'autres troupes qui viennent du nord, très nombreuses, avec des canons et des chevaux; ce sont ces troupes-là qui feront la guerre à Samory; moi, je suis ici seulement pour vous défendre, vous, habitants de Bondoukou, et vous pouvez compter que je n'y manquerai pas.¹

These words, intended to have an emotional impact upon his audience and to discourage any anticipation of a Samorian or British return, were followed with the donation of a Qur'^ān to a mosque and 'chaplets' to some of the pious nobles of the town. The French mission did not

¹Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 60.

encounter any difficulties from the local population which made every effort to facilitate their work.

On 17 December Imām Kunandi Timitay, accompanied by some two hundred persons (about half of whom were women) partly armed with rifles (fusils), re-entered Bondoukou. The results of his negotiations with Clozel on the future political structure of the city, in broad terms, were

. . . complète entente avec les Mandés Dioulas, qui forment la presque totalité de la population urbaine de cette ville, dans laquelle ils ont constitué une sorte de petite république commercial qui rappelle de fort loin l'organisation des villes hanséatiques dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique d'autrefois . . .¹

Having obtained the cooperation of the Muslims, Clozel proceeded to establish a permanent military presence by founding a headquarters and gaining the unequivocal submission of the Gyaman chiefs. In the latter task he was aided by the mediation of the Imām and other prominent Muslims who negotiated for some two weeks with Papi and other Gyaman chiefs. Agyeman had died during the first part of 1897, at which time Chief Papi was recognized as animist ruler of Gyaman. The chiefs received official pardon for their previous acts, presumably those which violated the Franco-Gyaman treaty of 1888, and agreed to subject themselves to colonial authority. Clozel's mission was then completed; he left Bondoukou 31 January

¹Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 62.

1898, leaving M. Lamblin behind as chef de poste.¹

End of Abron Rule

The French administrative apparatus in Bondoukou was established with little resistance. The Cercle de Bondoukou comprised two circonscriptions, the town of Bondoukou and Bouna and their environs. The incorporation of Bouna in 1900 was an innovation in that it had not been part of Gyaman. It was a Kulango-ruled chieftaincy with an important and politically active Dyula trading community which maintained good relations with that of Bondoukou and Kong. The colonial government was headed by a commandant and a chef du poste, both of whom resided in Bondoukou and were supported by a police brigade and two indigenous interpreters. Bouna had a similar personnel but it seems to have been responsible to the Bondoukou administration. Government bureaus consisted of a postal and telegraph office and a customs administration. Also part of this establishment was a school which was opened to give an elementary French education to indigenous students who, upon completion, could further their studies at l'École Normale de Saint Louis in Senegal.²

The indigenous structure of authority was, of course, abolished. The paramount chief retained his official

¹Clozel, Dix Ans, pp. 63, 96.

²Nebout, "Monographie", pp. 173-4; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 125.

position as ruler of the Bondoukou circonscription, but over areas to the west and south he completely lost his traditional authority, as they became part of other cercles. The regional chiefdoms of Gyaman which were incorporated into the Cercle de Bondoukou became cantons with former chiefs serving the administration as chefs de cantons. They were no longer responsible to the paramount chief in matters of politics and administration. They were agents of the French, and responsible for peace, justice and the collection of the poll tax; the latter, two francs and fifty centimes, was levied on each person ten years and older. In the two centers of Bondoukou and Bouna the French established a tribunal system, non-Muslim and Muslim, which was presided over by the Abron king and the Imām; chiefs and Dyula notables were appointed as assessors and interpreters. Judgements were to be based on native and Muslim law as long as they "conformes aux lois de l'humanité", and were to be given in the presence of the chef de la circonscription or the commandant.¹ Thus the three-tier system of chiefs--

¹Nebout, "Monographie", p. 174; Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 10. For an excellent overview of cercle and canton administration, see Roger Villamur, Les Attributions Judiciaires (Paris: A. Pedone, 1902), pp. 11-21, 272-8; Robert Delavignette, Freedom and Authority in French West Africa (London: Frank Cass, 1968), pp. 7-14, 31-3, 71-84; and William B. Cohen, Rulers of Empires: the French Colonial Service in Africa (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1971), pp. 11-17, 57-83.

paramount, district or regional and village--was abolished, and the formerly influential chiefs of regions were relegated to the position of village chiefs in the traditional system. By the decrees of 1904 and 1912, French judicial authority became direct, thus replacing the chiefs as adjudicators in serious civil or criminal cases. Henceforth, as Tauxier states, the formerly dominant group, the Abron, became French subjects like the Kulangos, Dyulas, Nafana and others. What was retained had little more than token value.¹ In 1916 the new governor of the Ivory Coast, G. Angoulvant, was able to write that Bondoukou, among five other cercles

étaient complètement en mains et ne sollicitaient plus d'autres efforts que ceux destinés à rendre plus parfaite leur administration, à assurer leur développement économique et moral.²

Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French

As in other areas of French West Africa, colonial policy was, on the surface, favorable to the Muslims of Bondoukou. Almost immediate support was given to the Timitay imāmate and the Dyula merchants and nobles. However, it was exactly this support which was eventually to further divide the Muslim community and undermine its leadership. First, let us turn our attention to the Imām.

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 352 n. 1.

²G. Angoulvant, La Pacification de la Côte d'Ivoire 1908-15, Méthodes et Résultats (Paris: Émile Larose, 1916), p. 14.

As a result of Imām Kunandi Timitay's aid in the establishment of French rule in Gyaman he has received more attention in the early French histories of the Ivory Coast than any other indigenous figure. We have already mentioned his meeting with Clozel in December 1897, but we do not know the nature of their discussion. During the following year Imām Kunandi was to use his influence in quelling at least two anti-French maneuvers. A group of French soldiers are said to have been surrounded and attacked by the inhabitants of Bui, a village near Bondoukou. Finding himself unable to break the blockade, the officer in charge succeeded in getting an appeal for help to Chef du Poste Lamblin at Bondoukou. The latter informed the Imām of the incident and his intention to depart for Bui the following day. Before his departure, however, Lamblin asked the Imām to call a public meeting, as rumor of a plot to depose Kunandi and to kill the Chef was current in the town. Although the rumor proved false, Lamblin, still concerned with the Imām's safety, requested that he accompany him to Bui. Instead, Kunandi sent two Timitays with the officer "to pray for him". He was overtaken a short distance from Bondoukou by messengers who cautioned him that chiefs Papi and Boitin were planning to kill any Europeans they encountered. Three days later Lamblin was joined at Bui by the Imām and some "young men" of Bondoukou. The besiegers had disappeared and the detained soldiers were rescued. In view of the Imām's actions "The Commandant [sic, Chef du Poste]" told Kunandi



2. Imām Kunandi Timitay. (From L. Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou, plate I).

that from that time he would be heard from that place up to Bouna".¹

The second incident in which Imām Kunandi supported the French was the Agni uprising at Assikasso (south of Bondoukou in Cercle de Indénié) in May 1898. The Agni were in close touch with British Gold Coast subjects in the region of Dormaa-Ahenkro who crossed into Assikasso during the harvest season for the rubber trees. The Agni rebels were supported by, according to Clozel, some six hundred Asante fighters who, due to their military skills, caused more concern amongst the French soldiers than the rubber harvesters and Agni together; he estimated the total number of insurgents at not less than six thousand. Urgent appeals for reinforcement were dispatched to neighboring posts, Senegal and Bondoukou. Upon receipt of Clozel's message, Lamblin requested that Imām Kunandi use his influence to recruit Gyaman volunteers, as the French had only a few troops at Bondoukou. Kunandi not only raised a force of 400 animists and Muslims, but also led them himself to Assikasso. The Imām was subsequently awarded the Étoile Noire du Benin for his services.²

However, Kunandi had incurred the anger of Chief Papi, his former ally, who used Lamblin's absence to extricate

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, 7 March 1972.

²Clozel, Dix Ans, pp. 65-72; Delafosse, "Le Clergé Musulman de l'Afrique Occidentale", Revue du Monde Musulman, No. 6 (Juin 1910), p. 198 n. 1.

himself from French domination. He planned to appeal to his erstwhile enemy, the British, for aid in reestablishing Abron rule, probably under British protection. The plot was aborted by the untimely return of Lamblin and Kunandi in July.¹ Marty reports that the king of the Abron, undoubtedly Papi, told the Imām: "Si les Francais n'étaient pas là, tu n'aurais déjà plus ta tête sur tes épaules".² Such reprimand would hardly have disturbed Kunandi, for his well-being almost always depended on his having a power base; now that it was no longer the leading animist chief it was the French.

Presumably Lamblin did not deal with Papi immediately because he feared another rebellion with which he was not equipped to cope; the rebel chief was supported by other leaders, Bassamo and Kwame-Fram, who together certainly commanded the loyalty of more fighters than the French-Dyula force at Assikasso. On 7 August Lamblin was replaced by the experienced Captain Benquey, first Commandant of Bondoukou, who was accompanied by second Lieutenant Lairle and a company of tirailleurs. Two weeks later, 21 August, Papi and his supporters were executed. Benquey notified the remaining chiefs that they had three weeks to present a Gyamanhene-elect for the Commandant's approval. He used the occasion of the investiture of Kwadio Yeboa (of Zanzan) to announce that henceforth Gyamanhenes would

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 122-3.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 223.

be chosen by turn from Yakassé and Zanzan, and that supreme authority in matters of jurisdiction would be the prerogative of the Commandant. Thus the strongest opposition to Kunandi's rise no longer existed. He was appointed chef de canton and, as such, his authority in Bondoukou was second only to that of the French.¹

French Interests in Traders

The commercial aristocracy was encouraged to accept a position of colonial merchantile middlemen. To this they were favorably disposed, since the European presence guaranteed the security of the trade routes. Moreover, the increased interest of French trading companies and the addition of French commodities at markets such as Bassam and Krinjabo gave the appearance of a promising future for Dyula traders. Some merchants descended upon Cape Coast where they bought English goods for the home market.² Trade between the English colony and Bondoukou was of primary concern for the administration which made numerous attempts to break the traditional pattern of commercial links. Commandant Benquey was to a large extent preoccupied with the notion of diverting Bondoukou merchants from Cape Coast and the Northern Territories to Grand-Bassam and its immediate neighborhood. He was concerned that the area between Bondoukou and Assikasso did not have a French post, that chiefs in that region

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 124.

²Benquey, "Bondoukou", pp. 210-11, 213.

could not be relied upon to effectively prevent commodities entering into the French colony, and that English subjects were crossing at will into Assikasso for rubber. Inter-colony trade was to be controlled somewhat later when stricter regulations were implemented on both sides of the frontier.¹

Conversion of Animists

It is generally accepted that the main agents of Islamization in West Africa were traders who, in the process of vending their commodities, preached Islam to their animist customers; also, that the 'magical powers' of the Muslims often induced conversion to Islam.² If Muslim proselytization is measured in terms of conversion, then in the pre-French period the Dyula community of Bondoukou rarely attempted to convert their animist landlords and neighbors. According to French sources, the Abron strictly forbade conversion.³ In view of the inter-communal activities of trade and celebrations between Muslims and animists, and the politico-economic importance of the Dyulas,⁴ it is doubtful that this interdiction

¹Benquey, "Bondoukou", pp. 217-8.

²See, for example, I.M. Lewis, ed., Islam in Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 20-23; J. Spencer Trimingham, The Influence of Islam upon Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1968), pp. 38-9; 94.

³ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 220, "Rapport sur la situation de l'Islam dans le Cercle", 14 October 1910, p. 87.

⁴Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 95-8.

was seriously implemented. There is no indication of an unfavorable response to the Timitay conversion of the Donzo and some Hwelas.¹ No other group seems to have embraced Islam; that individuals converted appears likely, but the number was probably small. The probability is that, for reasons not totally clear at this time, the Muslims had little interest in propagating their faith.

After the establishment of colonial rule Muslims were allowed to proselytize. This was no doubt a gesture of the administration to Imām Kunandi Timitay for his co-operation and support, and also a reflection of French opinion that Islam was a more 'civilized' culture than that of the non-Muslim Gyamans. However, Dyula efforts to convert the animists were not very fruitful; some Kulangos did embrace the faith, but the great majority of animists retained their traditional religions. Marty was able to write in 1922 that "Ce mouvement s'est considérablement ralenti".²

Muslim Militancy and the Notion of Jihād

Bondoukou Muslim leadership was generally conservative. It is inconceivable that the community was unaware of movements like those of ʿUthmān dan Fūdi, Mamadou Lamine, al-Ḥājj ʿUmar and others; but knowledge of distant

¹Holden, interview with al-Ḥājj Yaḥyā Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 98-101, 231.

movements was not sufficient stimulus to imitate their examples at home. Such action would have disrupted trade and necessitated at least a partial subjugation of some animist Gyamans who were good neighbors, allies and hosts. If the Dyula had not been active in proselytization, it is highly unlikely that they would have been militant for a purely religious cause. They were much less concerned about the rule of 'infidels' than with a situation fostered by the latter in which the basis of their livelihood was protected by their new overlords.¹ The relatively apolitical stance of the Muslims was not a result of overwhelming colonial pressure, but a consequence of their material interests. The call for Muslim unity and militancy almost always came from outside the community.

Around May 1905 a northern Nigerian, Muḥammad ʿUthmān, who claimed to be an emissary of Mahdī Mūsā of Adamawa, appeared in Bondoukou urging Muslim reform and conversion of the animists. Prior to his arrival, Muḥammad had visited Kano, Sokoto, Salaga, Kumasi, Wenchi and Sikassiko.

¹The only tract of Bondoukou authorship known to the writer which contains a few anti-European lines is a qaṣīda (IAS AR/247) written by Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan Timitay entitled "Tadhkira lin-nās ʿan waqāʾiʿ lin-nās", see Chapter VIII. Its tone is mild compared with that of al-Hājj ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr of Salaga who wrote on the same subject. For a translation of the latter, see J.A. Braimah and J.R. Goody, eds., Salaga: The Struggle for Power (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1967), pp. 191-2.

He advocated lengthy prayers in the mosques, destruction of the tam-tam, the slaughter of all black animals and the wearing of only white cloth. Finally, he insisted on an entente amongst Muslims, and a donation of thirty centimes per person; he appealed to the Muslims to sharpen their swords in preparation for the imminent arrival of the Mahdi and the overthrow of the Europeans which would commence in the north. His speech to the community was delivered openly and with the consent of Commandant Benquey who noted his appeal to some elements in the society. In May 1905 he was arrested and sent to Bingerville. In November Imām Kunandi sent a letter to the Commandant from Muhammad who was then in Accra; in December he was repatriated to Lagos.¹ Such itinerant preachers appeared in many places in West Africa with varying degrees of success; but in Bondoukou they accomplished little more than a slight stir of its inhabitants.

The idea of jihād was equally unacceptable to the Dyulas, who were on comfortable terms with their animist neighbors. In response to Tauxier's question about jihād,

¹Dakar. Archives de la République du Sénégal (ARSD) 5G 63, No. 25, "A sujet de la propagande islamique dans le Cercle de Bondoukou", Commandant au Gouverneur, Bondoukou, 19 March 1906; Robert Arnaud, L'Islam et la Politique Musulmane Française (Paris: Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1912), p. 20; Marty, Études, p. 69; Goody, "A Mahdi in Northern Ghana", in Christopher Allen and R.W. Johnson, eds., African Perspectives (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 153.

Imām Kunandi stated:

Elle est conditionnée par la force . . . Que celui a la force la commence! . . . Si les Français veulent nous donner des fusils pour aller guerroyer contre les Lobis fétichistes, nous irons leur faire la guerre. Tous les Musulmans de Bondoukou . . . pensent ainsi.¹

Marty writes that because of the initial good relations between animists and Muslims in northwestern Ivory Coast, the notion of a local jihād was unthinkable. Furthermore, Muslims were skeptical about any military action in the name of holy war; on several occasions they themselves had been victims of co-religionists. With regards to fighting against Europeans, that too was never a serious question.² That Imām Kunandi was prepared to do battle against the Lobi, who stood firmly against the French, should be seen as an expression of his willingness to comply with the government's bidding.

The colonial administration was of the opinion that the Dyulas had lost their earlier zeal, and that Islam in the Ivory Coast as a whole was in a regressive stage. The main causes of stagnation were stated as the discouraging effects of the animists majority society on the Muslim minority community and the latter's inability to protect themselves and their hosts from the incursions of Samori. Though this explanation seems plausible for

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 283 n. 2.

²Marty, Études, pp. 293-6.

other regions of the colony, Bondoukou's overwhelmingly Muslim population were not "noyées dans une population fétichiste".¹ There is no indication in the oral or written sources that the non-Muslim Gyamans expected the Dyulas to repulse the sofas who may have outnumbered the entire population of Bondoukou. Indeed a combined force of Muslims and Gyamans attempted to defeat Samori.²

Unlike prayer and fasting, jihād was not considered a fundamental principle of Islam; acceptance of European overlordship was the order of the day. In 1906, after which date there does not seem to have been any overt jihādist propaganda in Bondoukou, Commandant Le Campion wrote that the propagators of reform and holy war were unable to arouse serious popular sentiment against the administration: "Ils ne sont point dangereux pour notre influence tout au contraire: ce sont les pitres de l'Islam".³ Local French policy toward the Muslims was very much in accord with the proposals formulated by a student of North African Islam, Le Chatelier:

. . . une extrême réserve, une action déterminée par l'indifférence apparent, par un sentiment raisonné de tolérance, ni aggressive, ni tyrannique,

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, No. 240 GP, "Situation actuelle de l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire", Lieutenant-Gouverneur au Gouverneur Général, Bingerville, 3 March 1911.

²Holden, field notes, interview with al-Hājj Faytigay Kamaghatay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

³ARSD, 5 G 63, No. 25.

mais attentive et énergique sans hésitation,
préventivement plutôt que par réaction.¹

¹Le Chatelier, L'Islam, p. 350; see also pp. 345-6,
364.

PART II

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL HERITAGE OF AL-ḤĀJJ ṢĀLIḤ

Although Bondoukou was primarily known as a Dyula trading town, it was also a center of Islamic learning of some repute in northern Ivory Coast and Ghana. As it was situated on the north-south trade routes of the savanna, it received most of its intellectual stimulation from the northern and northwestern regions of the Sudan. This location severely limited its intellectual contacts with Arabic-speaking North Africa as well as with the centers of learning in the extreme north and north-west of Ghana (for example, Wa and Salaga). Again, by virtue of its geographic situation scholarship was less developed in Bondoukou than in other northern towns of comparable size (for example, Kong and Bouna before the Samorian period). In spite of the adverse effect of location, Bondoukou had a small active group of teacher-traders. Notable among these was al-Ḥājj Ṣālīḥ whose ancestry, education, career and scholarship form the topic of Part II of this study.

The Family Nisba

Among the problems with which contemporary researchers into oral history are faced is that of obtaining an acceptable genealogy. This is especially so when there has been an inconsistency in the cultural pattern between the points where a particularly favorable pattern is broken and

subsequently resumed. The interim is often denied as a result of shame and fear that the reputation of the family will decline in direct proportion to the spread of the degrading information. It is understandable that peoples of Mande-Soninke origin would be more than elated to acknowledge or even incorrectly claim descent from the medieval Mali empire; the prestige that one derives from such a claim would be about the same in an Islamic or animist community. However, to be of Mande Muslim ancestry some of the members of which migrated to an animist stronghold and in turn apostated and later reconverted does not lend itself to enhancing one's family pride and communal esteem. There appears to be evidence of such a cultural break in the ancestry of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.

The original nisba of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's predecessors is Tarawiri (Fr. Traoré or Taraoré) which indicates the Soninke patronymic group of Jenne to which they belonged.¹ The founder of the lineage is said to have been a Somono chief, Tara-Maghan, who lived during the reign of Sundiata, founder of the Mali empire. The Somono, fishermen of the Upper Niger River, embraced Islam in the first half of the 13th century.² However, in time some Tarawiri groups

¹Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, "Tārīkh al-Islām fī Būbū", p. 27; I. Wilks, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, Bobo Dioulasso, 9 May 1966.

²Maurice Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger (3 vols; Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1972), I, p. 139, vol. II, pp. 176 and 179.

apostated, probably as a result of a superficial knowledge of the religion and a long association with animists.¹ The Tarawiri patronym is most often used in reference to ʿUthmān, the paternal grandfather of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. References, either oral or written, to Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān or al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ are usually followed by the adopted nisba, al-Jōnī, al-Jawānī or az-Zōnī, all having derived from the same root.

There are two explanations for the use of al-Jōnī. According to one informant, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was a descendant of ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib, a cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muḥammad and the last of the Rāshidūn caliphs.² At some point in ʿAlī's life he is said to have adopted the nisba 'Zain' of which 'Jōnī' is a Dyula rendition. Although al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's predecessors are said to have migrated from Arabia to Mande (Mali), presumably during the ʿAbbāsīd period when ʿAlids were harrassed by various officials, there is no suggestion in our sources that they were involved in the ʿAlid political upheavals in

¹Paul Marty (Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922, pp. 150 and 158) mentions Tarawiri clans of Ouerodougou and Seguéla who were apostates.

²A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972; IASAR/355, fol. IIb. It is also claimed that an early companion of the Prophet, Dihyā (or Dahyā) al-Kalbī (d. ca. 50/670) of Syria was a predecessor of the family; see also IASAR/95, vol. IIIa.

either Arabia or North Africa. The second explanation states that 'Jōnī' is a corruption of 'zon', the Dyula word for gold.¹ The origin of the name goes back to a relationship between Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān and an unnamed Ṣūfī wālī of Timbuctu. In an attempt to demonstrate the unusual powers which a Ṣūfī may acquire, the wālī is said to have shown Muḥammad that he could convert sand into gold. Having become an associate and student of the holy man, Muḥammad was subsequently known by the nisba 'az-Zōnī' or 'al-Jōnī'. It is noteworthy that on one occasion al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's father referred to himself as simply Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Mālikī al-Ash'arī.² It seems reasonable to conclude that the nisba was adopted by either al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ or his father, or it was given to him by later writers. That his family descended from that of 'Alī b. abī Tālib is certainly possible though suspect.

'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim: Conversion to Islam

We know very little about al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's ancestors beyond his father. The oldest predecessor mentioned by my informants is his great-great-grandfather, Qāsim (latter part of the 17th century?) who was born at Dīmā, a Dafing village in northern Upper Volta near Safané. He seems to have been the son of a Dafing woman who was

¹Muḥammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²This form appears on the first page of his manuscript on tawḥīd which is translated in Chapter V.

possibly a non-Muslim. His son, Muḥammad b. Qāsim, also born at Dīmā, is equally as obscure.¹ ʿUthmān, the paternal grandfather of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih, the latter's father, Muḥammad, and al-Ḥājj Ṣālih himself have received notice in our written sources; these may be divided into French colonial records, used by later writers, and an unpublished manuscript written by the Muftī of Bobo Dioulasso, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā Saghanughu. It is the information provided by these sources and enlarged upon by oral accounts which will form much of the remainder of this study. For reasons of clarity and coherence the biographical notice by Tauxier, set out below, will be compared with the indigenous written and oral materials.

Alagui Soualio est né vers 1866 à Diénéné (Gold Coast) de parents d'origine Dafing ou Dafi. (on sait que les Dafing ou Dafi qui habitent la région de Ouahabou et de Boromo (cercle de Koury ou de Dédougou) sont des commerçants, d'origine Soninké, comme les Yarsé, les Markás, les Dyoulas, etc).

¹Muḥammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972; al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972. Another informant, Karamoko Ṣālih Ghina (Bondoukou, 5 March 1972) reports that al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's great-great-grandfather was named ʿAlī. That Qāsim sent Muḥammad and ʿUthmān, great-grandfather and grandfather of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih respectively, to study at Jenne, as stated by Bakarambasi, is highly improbable; his testimony is not supported by either written or oral sources. The probability is that he confused Ṣālih's great-grandfather with his father, both of whom bore the same name. The education of ʿUthmān will be discussed shortly.

Son père, Karamoko Mama, originaire de Safané, passait pour un grand marabout et mourut à Bouna. Son grandpère, Anzoumana, originaire également de Safané avait également le renom d'un grand marabout.¹

Tauxier's account is based upon a French colonial fiche dated 1st June 1912,² which was the result of the administration's desire to obtain as much information as possible about the origins and activities of the leading marabouts in each canton and circle. The information was of a confidential nature and was used for intelligence purposes. With regard to 'Uthmān, the primary importance of the document is its claim that he had the reputation of being a famous holy man or scholar; this claim is hardly corroborated by the later sources. The most historically significant data about both 'Uthmān and Muḥammad is contained in al-Ḥājj Marḥabā's "Tārīkh al-Islām fī Būbū," completed in 1383/1963.

Sa'īd and Ibrāhīm arrived in Shī'a on Tuesday 9th Rajab 1177 A.H. /13th January 1764/. Allah changed the name of the town to Julāṣū /by which name it has been known/ to the present day, because julā means Muslim and ṣū, abode. Then Allah answered his /Sa'īd Saghanughu's/ supplication by enlarging the village and bringing people to it from all directions

¹L. Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou (Paris: Larose, 1912), p. 270, n. 3. Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 224-5.

²Dakar. Archives de la République du Sénégal (ARSD), 5 G 6h, No. 60, "Fiches en renseignement des Marabouts 1912-1915", 1 June 1912.

and districts. Then a man of great ability came and embraced Islam from him and he named him 'Uthmān. He /^ʿUthmān/ emigrated to him and left his town, Dughutā /^ʿor Dughunā/. A distinguished son was born to him and named Muḥammad. Later, Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm built a special town for himself, and by 1266 A.H. /1849-50/ he had some distinguished students. Then Allah sent (sakhkhara) to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd a man from Shī'a who was originally from the town of Ghumitū, a village near Jenne. But due to the death of his fathers, he lapsed into unbelief. His muṣḥaf and burnus were highly revered and worshipped like idols. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān wept at hearing his strange story, and the man mentioned his fear of his people: had he returned to Islam they would have killed him publicly. However, the shaikh encouraged him and he repented in his presence, and /^ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān/ named him Muḥammad as he was called in unbelief; so he was known by two names. Subsequently, his people rushed to the shaikh demanding that Muḥammad return to his first way of life. The shaikh overcame them by saying that he had returned to the religion of his fathers. Then they accepted (akhadhū) from the shaikh a dīnār worth of liquor (khamr) and a black goat as compensation for the harm he had done to their custom by returning to Islam. He abandoned /^ʿthem/ for the company and association of the shaikh; he did not miss an obligatory prayer with him at his miḥrāb. His /^ʿMuḥammad's/ father, 'Uthmān Tarawiri, embraced Islam from our grandfather Sa'īd and remained with him until he died. This distinguished son was born to him /^ʿUthmān/ and became unique and the greatest of his time

in the Arabic sciences.¹

This account clearly indicates that ʿUthmān was converted from kufr to Islam by Saʿīd Saghanughu. He is said to have been the second Bobo to embrace the religion and the first of his branch of the Tarawiri for some five generations. "He finished reading the Qurʾān and then read tafsīr" under the tutorship of the Saghanughus Saʿīd and Ibrāhīm; from the former he received an isnād.² The claim advanced by al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi³ that he studied the Qurʾān, exegesis, jurisprudence and Arabic at Jenne is indeed dubious, for had he pursued such studies, he almost certainly would have been called karamoko (the Dyula word for teacher or learned man).⁴ The only person known to the writer as having studied with him is his son Muḥammad. ʿUthmān was, however, known as a devout Muslim,

¹Marḥabā, "Būbū", pp. 12, 27.

²Wilks, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, Bobo Dioulasso, 9 May 1966; personal correspondence from al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, post-marked 22 July 1971.

³Muḥammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchī, 10 March 1972.

⁴For details of Dyula education, see Delafosse, "Le Clergé Musulman de l'Afrique Occidentale", Revue du Monde Musulman, No. 6 (Juin 1910) pp. 177-206; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 225-6; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, Ch. III; Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan" in Jack Goody, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 165-71.

and the terms shaikh and grand marabout presumably refer to his personal piety.¹ The year of 'Uthmān's death is unclear, but it was probably after that of Ibrāhīm Saghanughu which is given as 1825.²

Karamoko Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān

There is some doubt, however, with regard to the early life of Muḥammad. The above mention of a muṣḥaf and burnus raises an important question: to whom did they originally belong? These objects, especially the burnus, are insignias of advanced learning, beyond the level of karamoko. 'Uthmān certainly did not reach such a stage. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Muḥammad would have apostated after attaining an advanced level of Islamic education. The probability is that Muḥammad was raised as a non-Muslim; that toward the end of 'Uthmān's life he gave him some elementary Islamic instruction which proved to be inconsequential with regard to permanent religious adherence; and that he was subsequently converted by 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sa'īd Saghanughu about the middle of the 19th century. Thus, the emblems were initially possessed by a distant ancestor, and were revered by succeeding generations.³ It is understandable that the present descendants of al-Hājj Ṣālīḥ would not be

¹Marḥabā, Būbū, p. 32; ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n. 3.

²Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 174.

³Cf. Wilks, "Islamic Learning", pp. 169-70.

prepared to divulge information which would cast their supposed religiously noble origins into an unfavorable light. Their hesitance to use the nisba Tarawiri may be an indication of their embarrassment at the apostacy of their forefathers.

While Muḥammad certainly engaged in trade during the early part of his manhood, he is remembered, however, for his extensive learning, teaching and activities as a Tijānī muqaddam. A definitive chronology of his education is hardly possible to obtain, but the following seems to be accurate given the sources at our disposal. Muḥammad received an elementary Islamic education from his father and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Saghanughu at Bobo-Dioulasso. He then went northward to join the school of the celebrated al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Karantao at Douroula or Safané.¹ Having recieved an isnād for Tafsīr al-Jalālain² he turned

¹IASAR/232, fol. Ia; Nehemiah Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 148. Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā states in his letter that he left Bobo Dioulasso to Zāghā but does not mention subjects studied or the period of time he spent there.

²IASAR/232, fol. Ia. According to al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī (Jinini, 8 March 1972), Karamoko Muḥammad received an isnād for Tafsīr al-Jalālain from Saʿīd at-Tawīl b. Muṣṭafā Saghanughu. However, that is unlikely, as Saʿīd probably died before Karamoko Muḥammad was born or while he was very young; see Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 174. Referring to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā ("Bubu", p. 12) states wa sanaduhu min sanad

to the direction of the origin of his predecessors, the region of the Upper Niger, and travelled (via Timbuctu) to the famous Islamic center at Jenne. In the latter he studied Qur'ān, exegesis, Arabic grammar, rhetoric, eloquence, prosody, logic and Mālikī jurisprudence using such well known works as Al-Muwatta' of Mālik, Ash-Shifā' bi-Ta'rīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā of Qādī 'Iyād and Al-Mukhtaṣar of Khalīl b. Ishāq.¹ Most of his seven years of study at Jenne were with the prominent teacher Sulaimān Yārō (or Iyārō), who is known to have been a great Ṣūfī wālī or holy man. From Jenne, Muḥammad journeyed to Dia (near

ash-Shaikh Sa'īd which indicates that his isnād goes through Sa'īd. The same would apply to Muḥammad though he was taught by a later Saghanughu. It is also possible that Muḥammad had two isnāds, one from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān or Muḥammad b. Sa'īd and the other from al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd. As Wilks ("Islamic Learning" p. 172) has pointed out: "It is not uncommon for a student who has obtained an isnād from one teacher subsequently to restudy the work under another and so obtain a second and stronger isnād: this may occur when the second teacher has himself a particularly high reputation or when the isnād which he issued is an especially estimable one".

¹Muḥammad, interviews with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972. According to Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay (Kanguelé, 6 March 1972), Muḥammad pursued these subjects in Timbuctu. However, as he stated that al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī (whom he knew I would interview later) was more informed in this regard, his testimony is given only secondary mention here.

Bamako) where he resided for some five years and studied under another famous teacher of that area, Karamoko Mōro (ʿUmar), with whom he went deeper into some of the subjects already mentioned.¹ Some time during his years as a ṭālib ʿilm, he spent several years at Kong where he was taught by the accomplished jurist and 'saint' Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay.²

By now Muḥammad must have been a scholar of the first order in the Upper Niger Region and well deserving of the title 'karamoko', for he had completed a study of the three requisite works, Tafsīr al-Jalālain, Ash-Shifāʾ and Al-Muwattaʾ.³ Furthermore, his legal studies had prepared him for the role of faqīḥ, and his deep knowledge of Arabic would certainly have qualified him to be counted among the real Arabists of the region at that time. It is unfortunate that we do not possess any isnāds for Muḥammad, except for tafsīr;⁴ they were presumably destroyed toward the end of the 19th century the circumstances of which will be mentioned below.

After completing higher studies Muḥammad returned to Bobo Dioulasso for a short time before he began his teaching career. Due to the unfortunate lack of details in our

¹Muḥammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muḥammad, interviews with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

³Wilks, "Islamic Learning", pp. 168-9.

⁴IASAR/232, fol. Ia.

sources it is not possible to chronologically date his activities as a karamoko. However, in accordance with the already established fashion of responding to the requests of often distant communities for learned men, he accepted to journey to Kong where he started a school and taught for ten years.¹ It is an attestation to the extent of his learning that he taught Arabic grammar, poetry, prosody, fiqh and exegesis in such a famous center of Muslim education. In time his reputation was to become known in other Dyula centers some of which summoned him through messengers to teach. Among these were the Timitay-dominated town of Bondoukou to which Muḥammad probably went after leaving Kong;² Wa, where he taught a few months and was the guest of another locally prominent teacher, Karamoko Hārūna b. al-Ḥasan;³ Bole, where he is said to have taught Imām Togoma Al-Muwatta' and Ash-Shifā';⁴ and the predominantly

¹Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972. Al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi (Wenchi, 10 March 1972) mentioned that Muḥammad was in Kong (presumably teaching) about thirteen years.

²J.J. Holden, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj 'Uthmān Boyo, Bouna, 3 August 1969; Muhammad, interviews with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

³Wilks, interview with Limām (Imām) al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Bakūrī, Wa, 3 May 1966; Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Bakūrī b. Hārūn, Kumasi, 3 March 1972.

⁴Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

Hwela village of Jinini in which, according to some of his grandsons, he was also responsible for the building of its first mosque.¹ In the region of northwestern Ghana, Muḥammad is well remembered in Fugula-Banda where he taught Arabic and exegesis not only to students of that place and nearby Sorobango, but also to the well known Karamoko 'Alī Kunatay of Kintampo who travelled from Kinkasso to study with him.² Muḥammad's activities in Fugula ended with the outbreak of war between Gyaman and Banda in January or May 1882.³ He then went to Bouna, via Bondoukou, where he opened a school and continued to write a number of treatises including some commentaries on books written by more internationally known Muslim Scholars of North Africa and the Middle East.⁴ However, Muḥammad's only extant composition is a work of twenty pages on tawḥīd which bears the year 1297/1880.⁵

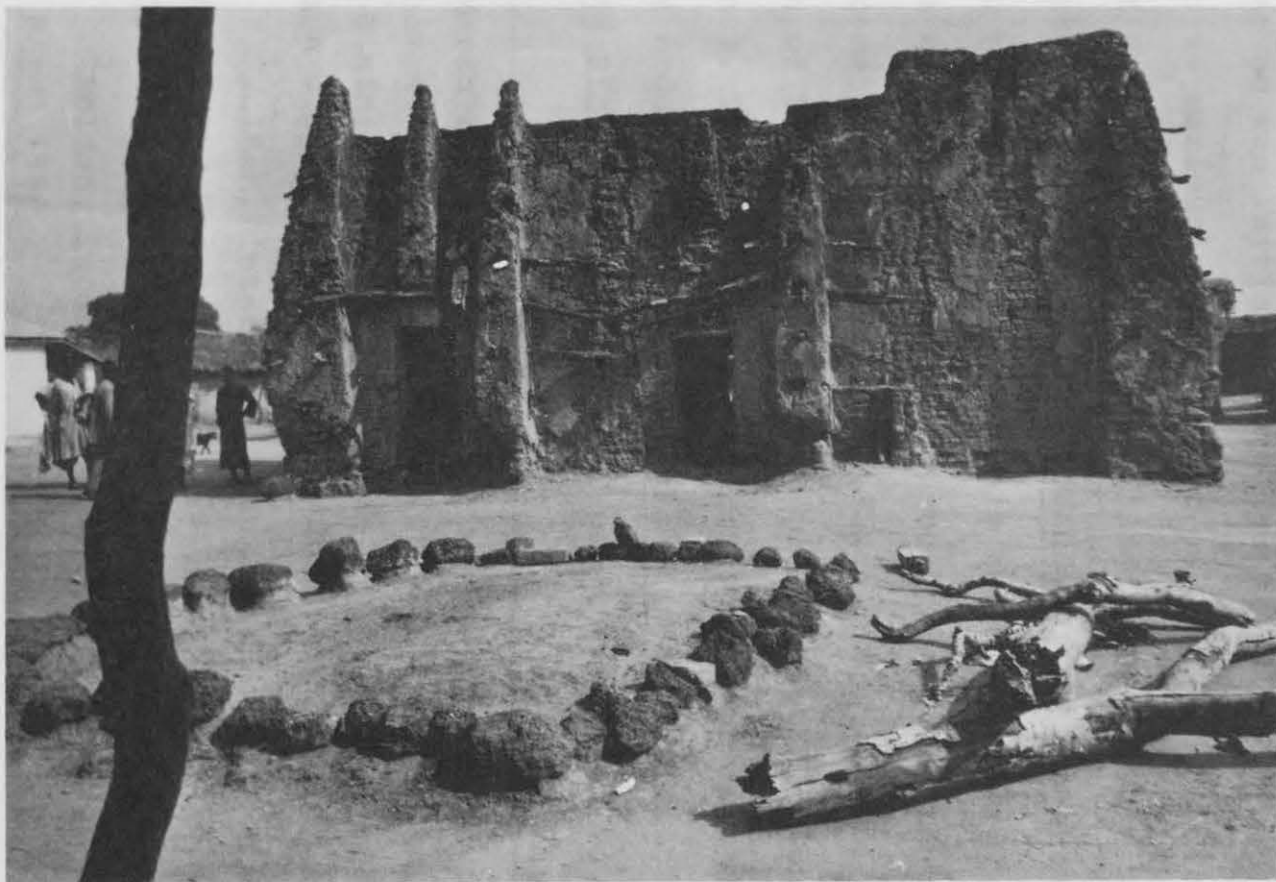
¹Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muhammad, interviews with al-Ḥājj Boyo, Kumasi, 3 March 1972. Karamoko Jabaghatay (Kanguelé, 6 March 1972) states that Muḥammad studied with 'Umar Bamba of Fugula-Banda. However, as the events he describes closely approximate those in which 'Alī Kunatay was involved, it is probable that he has confused the two persons.

³Holden, interview with al-Ḥājj Boyo, Bouna, 3 August 1969. W.W. Claridge, A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti (2 vols.; London: Frank Cass, 1964), II, p. 257.

⁴Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

⁵Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini,



3. Mosque of Jinini. Grave of Muhammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya in foreground.

Muhammad b. ʿUthmān is considered among the foremost late 19th century muqaddams of the Tijānīyya ṭarīqa in northeastern Ivory Coast and northwestern Ghana. It is not known precisely when, where and under whose influence he became attached to this order, nor whether he had an earlier affiliation with the older Qādirīyya. It is said that he was initiated into the Tijānīyya by a muqaddam who is variously referred to as Muhammad Jamarawīyyu (of Fas) and Sīdī ʿAlī at-Talamsānī;¹ another informant states that he brought a muqaddam from Jenne to Jinini who presumably introduced him into the order.² Whatever the case may have been, it seems plausible that Muhammad became acquainted with the Tijānīyya during his stay in one of the northern centers of learning (for example, Jenne, Timbuctu or Dia) and that he was initiated into the order by and received the wird from a disciple of al-Hājj Sīdī ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā at-Tammasini (d. 1844).³ Thus

9 March 1972. This work is in the possession of Imām Muhammad al-Murtaḍā b. al-Hājj Sulaimān b. al-Hājj Sālīh of Jinini who was kind enough to allow me to photograph it; a copy will be found in Chapter V.

¹Holden, interview with al-Hājj Abū Bakr Saghanughu, Kong, 20-22 March 1968; Wilks, interview with Imām al-Hājj Saʿīd, Wenchi, 23 June 1966.

²Holden, interview with Imām al-Murtaḍā, Jinini, 13 March 1968.

³Alphonse Gouilly, L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Paris: Larose, 1952), p. 109; Jamil M. Abun Nasr, The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World

Muhammad was not an adherent of the very widely-spread 'Umarian branch (founded by al-Hājj 'Umar al-Fūtī) of West African Tijānīyya.¹

Misfortune befell Muhammad again in the turbulent year 1895 when Samori's army entered Bouna. Although Muhammad--clearly a leading teacher of the town at that time--is said to have been respected by the conquering imām,² it is not known to what extent Samori and his lieutenants were acquainted with him. He was untouched by the havoc caused by the sofas, but his daughter, Shāfiya, was somewhat harrassed until it became known that she was Muhammad's daughter; and his library was either stolen or destroyed.³ The already languishing karamoko succumbed shortly after the subjugation of Bouna and was buried in the Ligbisso quarter of the town with Samori's son and lieutenant, Sarankye Mori, in attendance.⁴ After

(London: O.U.P., 1964), pp. 23, 72-3, 104.

¹All of my informants replied negatively to the suggestion that Muhammad was an 'Umarī Tijānī; most of them did not know who initiated him into the order, but insisted the person was of North African origin.

²Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

³Muhammad, interviews with Karamoko Ghina (son of Shāfiya) Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, and al-Hājj at-Tijānī Jinini, 8 March 1972.

⁴Holden, interview with Imām Gbeima Wulima Bamba, Bouna, 3 August 1969; Holden, "The Samorian Impact on Bouna", in C. Allen and R.W. Johnson, eds., African

his death he was often referred to as 'Sīdī Mahama' (that is, Muḥammad),¹ the implication being that he was regarded as a saint in the tradition of some North and other West African wālīs.

Muḥammad fathered some thirty-three children whose mothers were of Dafing, Kano and Jinini origins.² It appears that he most often travelled without his family and having resided in a town for a number of months or years, he would contract a marriage. The number of his wives, some of whom were daughters of prominent persons, is not known. Three of his sons followed, in varying degrees, the tradition of learning established by their father. Ibrāhīm, son of Sārah, a Hausa woman of Kano, studied with Muḥammad and became a karamoko.³ Muḥammad, a younger son, studied with his father, performed the pilgrimage with al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and was imām of Jinini for thirty-three years.⁴ The most learned of Muḥammad's children, however,

Perspectives: Papers in the history, politics and economics of Africa, Presented to Thomas Hodgkin (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 93.

¹Marḥabā, "Būbū", p. 32; Muḥammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972.

²Muḥammad, interviews with Karamoko Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

³Muḥammad, interviews with Karamoko Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, and Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972.

⁴Muḥammad, interview with Imām al-Murtadā, Jinini, 8 March 1972.

training in the centers of Islamic learning of the Western Sudan. He left Kong at the young age of five and travelled to Daboya (near Tamale, Ghana) where he is said to have spent three years studying the Qur'ān, particularly tajwīd, under the famous Gonja teacher Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi (or Bankarbasi).¹ He was taken there by Karamoko Muḥammad who may have been engaged as a teacher in the area. Although we are not told of any further formal education until he studied with his father at Bouna, it is likely that he continued his learning under the tutorship of Karamoko Muḥammad in Bondoukou and elsewhere. In Bouna he is said to have learned the traditional branches of Arabic, exegesis, fiqh and tawhīd "until he completed his studies and became a young man and married two women ..."² If one considers the career of Karamoko Muḥammad and the educational background of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, it becomes clear that the specialities of the latter would have been, in descending order, Arabic grammar, tafsīr and fiqh. This is corroborated by his few extant writings as well as the subjects which he subsequently taught.³ It is noteworthy that the title karamoko is not used in reference

¹Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972.

²Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972

³See Chapter V for his writings.

was al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.

The Early Life and Career of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ

According to al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, the most knowledgeable genealogist of the family, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was born on Tuesday, 15th Ramaḍān, but the year is unknown.¹ This date may be correlated with the year given in the fiche² to obtain a complete, though tentative, birthdate 15th Ramaḍān 1283/21st January 1867. This document and subsequent French sources incorrectly state that he was born at Jinini. The inaccuracy is probably due to the fact that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ had resided at Jinini several years prior to his arrival in Bondoukou³ where information concerning him was collected by the colonial administration in 1912. In fact, he is often given the place-nisba 'al-Jinini' and 'al-Jinawī' in the manuscript material. However, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was born at Kong, probably while his father was teaching there, and was named for Karamoko Muḥammad's mentor, Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay.⁴

Unlike his father, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ did not obtain his

¹Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270.

³Muhammad, interviews with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

⁴Muhammad, interviews with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972; al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

to al-Ḥājj Ṣālih though he was an eminent teacher most of his adult life. This may be due to the fact that he made the pilgrimage around the age of forty,¹ and that such a title is rendered exiguous and insignificant by 'al-Ḥājj'.

Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih emulated the pietistic inclinations of Karamoko Muhammad. He was taught a good deal of Sūfistic thought by his father who eventually initiated him into the Tijānī order, and from whom he received the wird and the authority to be a muqaddam. We have no indication as to when and where he was initiated into the order, but it was probably at Bouna and during the period between the late 1880s and early 1890s.² It is said that all the Tijānīs of Jinini and a considerable number of those in Bondoukou and elsewhere were initiated into the order by al-Ḥājj Ṣālih,³ though this may be an exaggeration. Thus he was one of the youngest muqaddams of this relatively new ṭarīqa--compared with the Qādirīyya--in an area which was becoming increasingly influenced by the ideas of Aḥmad at-Tijānī.

The most obscure period in the life of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih is that between the time that he completed his studies

¹Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972.

²By that time he would have completed his studies with his father.

³Holden, interview with Imām al-Murtaḍā, Jinini,

with his father and the death of the latter in 1895. It is clear that he did not immediately become an itinerant teacher, and my informants were unable to state his profession during this interim. Although some of them disagreed that he was actively engaged in trade at that time, they were neither in a position to give his source of income nor state with definiteness that he had embarked upon a teaching career.¹ It is almost certain that he was actively engaged in trade at Salaga and elsewhere, but the items in which he traded were unspecified.² We are told that on one of his return journeys to Bouna he brought a horse, among other gifts, for his father.³ As mentioned in the French sources, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ had close connections with the Muslim scholars of Salaga,⁴ particularly al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr, a well known Hausa mallam and perhaps Ghana's most prolific writer during the early part of this century.⁵

The first significant turning point in the life of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ occurred in 1895 when he was about

¹Muhammad, interviews with 'Umar Bamba, Japekrom, 4 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muhammad, interviews with Karamokos Ghina and Kiya, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

³Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

⁴ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.

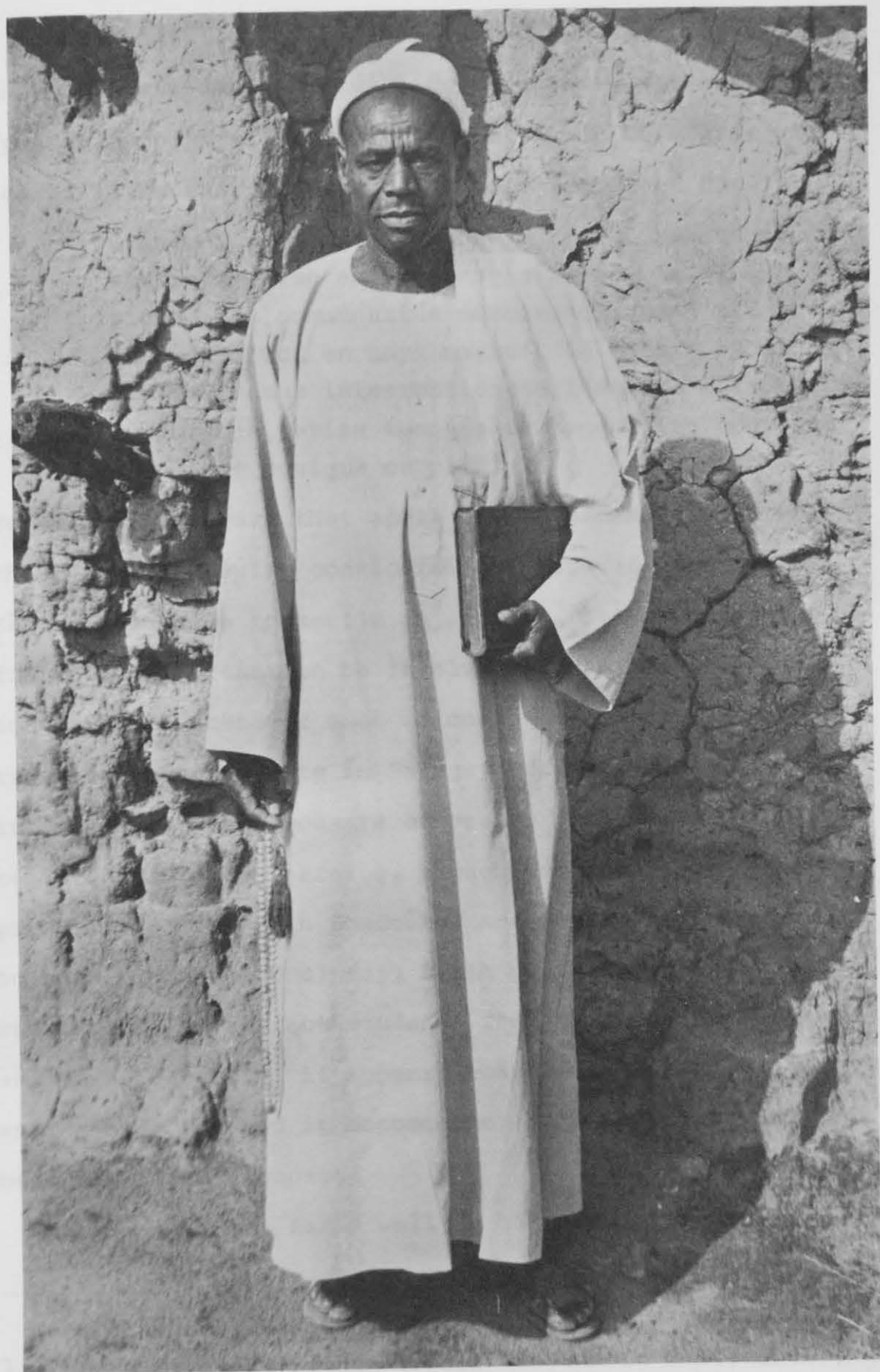
⁵For a discussion of their relationship, see Chapter VI.

twenty-eight years old. While Bouna was being ravaged by Samori's sofas Karamoko Muḥammad lay gravely ill. Ṣāliḥ was in Salaga at that time, and all attempts by his family to get a message to him were of no avail. Following Muḥammad's death his elder son, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, temporarily became the guardian of the family and escorted them to Jinini in anticipation of Ṣāliḥ's presence there. Finally he was met at Wenchi, and upon hearing of his father's demise, he joined his people in Jinini where a memorial service was held for Karamoko Muḥammad. Ṣāliḥ became the new head of the family and Jinini his permanent residence for several years.¹ His trading activities practically ceased, and his connections with the Muslims of Salaga, including al-Ḥājj 'Umar, were reduced to correspondence. Whatever relations he had cultivated with the northern savanna lands were to become a thing of the past.

Here, a question is in order: Why did Ṣāliḥ choose to resettle at Jinini? One knowledgeable informant states that Karamoko Muḥammad's memorial funeral "was at Jinini because the people of the town knew Ṣāliḥ well, and therefore it had to be there instead of at Banda. That is why the family remained at Jinini, though the body is buried at Bouna."² In my opinion, this explanation is, at best,

¹Muhammad, interviews with Karamokos Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

²Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972



4. Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā of Jinini.

a partial one. Undoubtedly Muhammad was regarded highly in that Hwela-dominated village. He had been partly responsible for its Islamic character which Delafosse witnessed in February 1903, and briefly described thusly:

Guénéné, agglomération huéla de 500 habitants environs, sise en pays anglais, est la plus pieuse des communautés musulmanes que j'aie vues jusqu'ici en pays nègre: la prière publique s'y fait sans interruption de l'aurore à la nuit, devant une petite mosquée rectangulaire couverte d'un toit conique en paille.¹

We submit, however, that apart from Muhammad's reputation there, the following considerations figured largely in Ṣālih's decision to settle in Jinini. It was not sufficiently important to be involved in the Asante wars, nor was it a scene of much colonial activity. In contrast to recent events in Salaga, Bondoukou and Bouna, it enjoyed a large measure of peace. As it was not a center of Islamic learning, though within fairly close proximity of those in Bondoukou and Gonja, Jinini promised to be a place where al-Ḥājj Ṣālih could build a scholarly reputation and attract students from neighboring villages and towns. Lastly, it appears that Jinini was not yet an imāmate, and had it become one, he would certainly have been its first occupant.

Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih fared well in his new environment.

¹Delafosse, Les Frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire de la Côte d'Or et du Soudan (Paris: Masson et Cie., 1908), p. 243.

Within a short time he became the leader of the Muslim community, and enjoyed good relations with the animist Hwela chief whose brother he converted to Islam.¹ However, as he matured his aspirations transcended the relative mediocrity and isolation of Jinini. To be the leading karamoko in that village was far less than being an imām in a large town, though it be under the rule of colonial 'infidels'. Bondoukou was to present an attractive challenge.

¹Muhammad, interviews with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī and Imām al-Murtadā, Jinini, 9 March 1972.



5. Al-Hājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī of Jinini.

CHAPTER IV

DYULA SCHOLARSHIP AND AL-ḤĀJJ ṢĀLIḤ AT BONDUOKOU: THE YEARS OF SUCCESS AND DECLINE

The teachers in Bondoukou during the 19th and early 20th centuries were almost all members of a Ṣūfī ṭarīqa (order, brotherhood). These men were largely responsible for maintaining the Islamic character of the Dyula community, as they were the ʿulamā and intellectual examples for their people, students and laymen. This chapter is concerned with (a) Islamic education as a significant aspect of the Muslim character of the town, and (b) the consequences of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's stay there, both for himself and the Dyula community.

Ṣūfī Orders and Teachers

There were two important ṭarīqas in Bondoukou: the Qādirīyya and the Tijānīyya. The first was founded by a Hanbalī scholar of Baghdad, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), and was spread from North Africa into the Western Sudan via Mauritania in the 18th century.¹ It appears that the first Bondoukou adherent of the Qādirīyya was Imām Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ Timitay (d. ca. 1265-6/

¹J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 40-42, 88; idem., The Influence of Islam Upon Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 75-6; W. Braune, "'ABD al-ḲĀDIR al-DJĪLĀNĪ", EI² I, pp. 69-70.

1848-9) who was initiated into the order by one Ḥammadu Kunaté (Muḥammad Kunatay) of Kong.¹ Since that time all the Timitay imāms have been Qādirīs and muqaddams. However, they did not, so it would seem, pass the wird on to many non-Timitays,² and this may suggest that they used their position as muqaddams as politico-religious leverage over other Muslims and to obtain more respect from the animists as possessors of baraka.

The Tijānīyya was founded by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad at-Tijānī (d. 1230/1815), a Mālikī teacher of Fez and a former member of the Qādirīyya; his teachings also reached the Sudan via Mauritania.³ The introduction of the Tijānīyya into Bondoukou seems to have been the work of a Segou Tucolor, al-Ḥājj Ishāq, who received the wird in Mecca from the shaikh of the Tijānī zāwiya. Ishāq was in Bondoukou briefly in about 1885.⁴ It is noteworthy

¹Louis Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou (Paris: Larose, 1921), p. 270.

²Almost all of my non-Timitay informants of Bondoukou were either Tijānīs or were not members of any brotherhood; the latter were few.

³Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World (London: O.U.P., 1965), pp. 16-7, 18, 102; Triminhgam, Sufi Orders, pp. 197, 110; idem., Influence of Islam, p. 75-6.

⁴Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270; Paul Marty, Études sur L'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Emile Larose, 1922), p. 227; Dakar Archives de la République du Sénégal (ARSD), 5 G 63, no. 36, L'Administrateur au Gouverneur, Bondoukou, 30 June 1907.

that he is not mentioned in any of the isnāds which the writer has seen, nor did any informant recall much more than his name. However, according to a French source, the isnād of a well known muqaddam of the Qunbala section, Karamoko Mama (d. ca. 1910-11) appears to go back to al-Ḥājj Ishāq through ʿAli (d. ca. 1892) and Biabudu Bané (b. ca. 1860).¹ For some years Biabudu Bané was the most prominent Tijānī in the town; but due to an incident which involved "une femme de l'almamy" his reputation suffered greatly.² Unlike many other towns of the Western Sudan, Bondoukou Tijāniyya was not ʿUmarian.

The Ṣūfī brotherhoods played a major role in education and were largely responsible for the subsequent existence of a learned elite which became a potential threat to established leadership. A particularly interesting document dated 1908 gives membership statistics for the ṭarīqas according to quarters.³

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 59 "Fiche de Renseignements", June 1912.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 226-7.

³Abidjan. Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire (ANCI), xv-42-85, no. 27, "Tidjanis et Kadryas de Bondoukou", January 1908.

<u>Tarīqa</u>	<u>Qabīla</u>	<u>Number of Adherents</u>
Tijānīyya	Coumara (Qunbala)	54 (47 males, 7 females)
	Camagaya (Kamaghatay)	15
	Maraga	8
	Carighioula (Kari-Dyula)	3
	Timitay	1
	Donzo-Ouatara	18 (17 males, 1 female)
	Nanaya	4
	Coco (Koko)	3
Qādirīyya	Timitay	8
	Camagaya (Kamaghatay)	2

Other documents of 1910 and 1912 list the teachers, their affiliations and number of students. Of the ten karamokos mentioned in 1910, seven were Tijānīs with a total of 110 students, and three Qādirīs with a total of 35 students. Two of the Qādirīs were Timitays, Imām Kunandi and Karamoko Salia Ba Timitay; the name of the third is given as Béle-Béle who had twenty students in 1910.¹

Saʿīd Kunandi b. Mālik, nephew of Imām Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm (d. ca. 1895-6), was born in Bondoukou about 1858.² As he became an orphan at an early age, he was raised and educated by his uncles, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl, both of whom were imāms of Bondoukou. He studied the Qurʾān under Imām Ibrāhīm, and Al-Muwattaʾ and Tafsīr al-Jalālain under Imām Ismāʿīl;³ the level of erudition in exegesis reached

¹ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, "Écoles Coraniques de Bondoukou", 31 October, 1910.

²ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 190, June 1912.

³A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

by Kunandi is unclear. With respect to Arabic, he could read, write and speak the language with a high degree of fluency. He also had some interest in learning French, though he had only eight or nine lessons.¹ Imām Kunandi was certainly one of the most learned men in Bondoukou. Although listed among the teachers of 1910, the number of his students is not given; however, he is reported to have had nine students in 1912.²

Salia (Ṣālih) b. Qādir Timitay, cousin of Kunandi, was born about 1852. He was taught by his uncles and initiated into the Qādirīyya by Imām Ibrāhīm. He could read and write Arabic, but spoke it poorly. Karamoko Ṣālih had fifteen students in 1910, but none in 1912.³

There were at least four prominent Tijānī karamokos in Bondoukou in 1912. Biabuḍu Bané, the muqaddam, was initiated into the order by his father, 'Alī, and was probably given the wird by his brother Mamadu (Muḥammad). In 1912 he had forty-five students.⁴ Karamoko Lazuzane (al-Ḥasan) b. Ibrāhīm, the most influential marabout after al-Ḥājj Ṣālih and Imām Kunandi, taught some thirty

¹Maurice Delafosse, "Le Clergé Musulman de l'Afrique Occidentale", in Revue du Monde Musulman, No. 6 (Juin 1910), pp. 189-90.

²ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910; ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 190, June 1912.

³ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910; ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 61, June 1912.

⁴ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 59, June 1912.

students. He was a descendant of two other leading teachers of Bondoukou, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, who gave him the wird, and Kunandi Watara. Al-Hasan could speak and write Arabic fluently, and he was a very active proselytizer among the animists of the Cercle.¹ Taia Kamaghatay b. 'Umar (b. ca. 1852) was initiated by Karamoko 'Alī Bané, and received the wird from Karamoko Mama. He wrote Arabic well, but spoke it poorly. He is reported to have had eleven students.² Lastly, the most famous Tijānī muqaddam, after Biabudu Bané, was Karamoko Mama (Muḥammad) of the Qunbala section. He was one of the early Qādirīs of Bondoukou and subsequently became affiliated with the Tijānīyya; in 1910 he had twenty students.³ Let us now consider the educational system in Bondoukou with respect to educators, students and the curriculum.

Islamic Learning

The system of Dyula Muslim education in Bondoukou was very similar to that of the rest of the Western Sudan and North Africa. The educated elite was composed of karamokos, imāms, qādīs, and muftīs; as a group they corresponded to the 'ulamā' of North Africa and the Middle East. It is worth remembering that the French term marabout (Arabic, murābit, usually a member of a Ṣūfī enclave)

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 50, June 1912; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 225-6.

²ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 86, June 1912.

³ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910.

is applied to almost all teachers and 'holy men', irrespective of their level of learning.

Karamokos formed the great majority of the literate class. Karamoko, generally a teacher, is a Malinke term which means 'one who can read', and is derived from the Arabic qara'a, 'to read, recite'. Teachers so designated would be expected to have a basic knowledge of Arabic, the Qur'ān, Hadīth and the ritual obligations of Islam. However, more advanced teachers would have a sounder knowledge of these subjects, having made a deeper study of the branches of Arabic such as nahw (grammar), balāgha (eloquence), 'arūd (prosody), bayān and ma'ānī (rhetoric, distinctness) and badī' (metaphors, style). They will also have some acquaintance with fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence, law) and theology. A karamoko usually wore a turban -- a band of cloth wrapped round a ṭāqīyya, skullcap -- and possessed an isnād showing the name(s) of his teacher and subjects studied. These are equivalent to the ijāzā of traditional Muslim countries. Imāms, qādīs and muftīs are those persons whose advanced training was in the more specialized fields of Arabic and law. At this stage of learning one speaks in terms of 'books' completed rather than subjects. Scholars of this rank were, as the titles imply, engaged in leadership roles primarily, but were also qualified to teach on both the elementary and advanced levels. The distinctive insignia of such achievement was the burnus (a hooded cloak) and



6. School children in the Qunbala gabila of Bondoukou.

sometimes a staff.¹

Generally, education was divided into two categories: elementary and advanced. Elementary students, usually relatives of the karamoko and in some instances members of other Muslim families, would begin their education in a village/town school between the ages of seven and ten. Generally, classes were held twice daily, except Wednesday and Thursday evenings and Friday mornings. Morning sessions were from six to seven o'clock and evening classes from five to six o'clock.² The curriculum consisted of lessons in the rudiments of Arabic writing and reading. Having mastered these the pupils would go on to learn the Fātiha (opening chapter of the Qur'ān) and some short verses easily committed to memory and useful in the performance of the obligatory daily prayers. The various postures of the latter would be studied along with other Islamic tenets such as fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage. Upon completion of his primary education the student, now about twelve years old, would receive an isnād from

¹Ivor G. Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan" in Jack Goody, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 167; Delafosse, "Clergé Musulman", p. 178; see also, Thomas Hodgkin, "The Islamic Literary Tradition of Learning in Ghana" in I. M. Lewis, ed., Islam in Tropical Africa (London: O.U.P., 1966).

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 269. During my field trip I noted that these hours are fairly closely maintained in Jinini and Bondoukou.

his teacher and would be authorized to use the title karaden (a young karamoko).¹ The period of study often varied with the circumstances of the pupil and his teacher. In theory, there was no charge for education; however, it was customary for the student's family to give the karamoko a gift, for example, a measure of rice, kolas, salt, a number of cowries, or very rarely money. This was often followed by a celebration for the successful graduate the elaborateness of which depended upon the means of the family.² At this time the graduate would have the choice of continuing his studies under another teacher, often away from his community, or returning to live and work with his family.

There were rare cases of intermediate learning which was open to those who desired further training in Arabic or religion without pursuing higher studies. At the intermediate stage a student would complete the reading of the Qur'ān, study burhān (the application of logical proofs to theological questions) and the Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya fī Mabādi' 'Ilm al-'Arabīyya of Ibn Ājurrūm. Again, upon passing these subjects the student, now about fifteen years old, would be honored with celebrations.³

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 262, 265.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 269-71.

³Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 256. Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265.

In terms of age and subjects studied, advanced education was considerably less organized than elementary studies; few students continued their studies to this level without an interruption of several years, and it was not uncommon to find an elderly man yet striving to finish a book under the tutorship of an accomplished karamoko.¹ Thus one could specialize in Ḥadīth, for example, by reading a well known text(s) and commentary in that discipline and almost totally exclude works dealing with related subjects. For a deeper assessment of the accomplishments of advanced students, let us briefly turn our attention to the more widely used texts and their authors.

With regard to the Arabic language, the most commonly used texts were the Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya, the Alfiyya and the Maqāmāt.² The author of the first work, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwud aṣ-Ṣanhājī (d. 723/1323), was one of the reputed grammarians of Fez where he lived and taught. His short book on Arabic syntax (iʿrāb) became a popular manual in the Muslim west as well as the

¹Delafosse, "Clergé Musulman", p. 190; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 168.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Muhammad, field notes, interviews with al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. al-Ḥājj Ḥārūn, Kumasi, 3 March 1972; al-Ḥājj Taila Idrīsu, Sunyani, 4 March 1972; Karamoko Ṣāliḥu Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972; Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

east due to its brevity and rhymed style; primarily a book of rules, it was easily memorized.¹

The most concise and thorough grammar used in Bon-doukou and the neighboring region was the Khulāṣa al-Alfīyya which contains in its over one thousand verses all the rules necessary for proper Arabic speech and composition. It is undoubtedly a more comprehensive and advanced text than the Ājurrūmiyya, and has been a standard work for several centuries in the centers of Muslim learning including Al-Azhar and Al-Qarawiyyin. The author, Jamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Andalusī (d. 672/1274), was a native of Jaen in southern Spain, but spent most of his life in the Syrian educational centers of Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Damascus; his death occurred in the latter city. Ibn Mālik, who wrote at least eleven other works, was also known as an expert on the Ḥadīth literature of which he made extensive linguistic use in writing the Alfīyya. Thus, it provided no small measure of aid to students of the Traditions.²

The most advanced and complex text in the Arabic curriculum was the Maqāmāt al-Adabīyya, a collection of

¹Carl Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, pp. 358-9; G. Troupeau, "IBN ADJURRUM", *EI*², III, p. 697; Alan Scham, Lyautey in Morocco: Protectorate Administration 1912-1925 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 145.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; H. Fleisch, "IBN MALIK", *EI*², III, pp. 861-2; Muqaddima ("Introduction") of Alfīyya Ibn Mālik fī n-Nahw wa ṣ-Ṣarf (Cairo: Subh and Sons, n.d.), n.p.; Scham, Lyautey, p. 145.

fifty maqāmāt (sessions). Unlike the above, this work was not designed to teach the elementary rules of grammar,¹ but to broaden the student's vocabulary through the use of many uncommon and archaic words, and to transmit culture through the use of parables, proverbs, and real stories. Although it is written in rhymed prose and contains much poetry, it does not lend itself to memorization. It is almost totally inconceivable that any student, regardless of his native language, could embark upon a study of the Maqāmāt without having a firm grasp of the essentials of Arabic philology and grammar. Among the benefits to be derived from a thorough reading of this work is a model of superb expression whether poetical or unrhymed prose. Almost all of the authors of manuscripts appended to this study read the Maqāmāt, and there is an immediately apparent similarity between it and their writings.

The author of the Maqāmāt, al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. al-Harīrī al-Baṣarī (d. 516/1122), was born at al-Mashān in the vicinity of Baṣra where he spent the greater part of his life. Al-Harīrī, like many other Muslim writers of the classical period, was a caliphal official (ṣāhib al-khabar, chief of intelligence of Baṣra) during the reign of al-Mustarshid (512/1119 - 529/1135). The Maqāmāt, which is still a popular text for the study of balāgha (eloquence) in the Arabic-speaking world, was a major work during the author's

¹Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265.

lifetime. Although he is better known for this book, another of his five works, Mulhat al-Iʿrāb, a short versified grammar in the rajaz meter, was also widely read in West and North Africa.¹

In the area of fundamental religious studies, Bondoukou and other Dyula centers such as Bobo Dioulasso, Safane and Bouna seem to be exceptions to the generalizations of a contemporary Islamist. Trimingham writes that "The Qurʾān and Ḥadīth rarely form part of the training even of the higher clergy since, having the Law, they [presumably western Sudanese] have no need for independent investigation of sources."² As many if not most of the written and oral isnāds of the Ivory Coast, Ghana and Upper Volta known to this writer are for Quranic and Ḥadīth exegesis as for any other subject. The most widely read source for the former seems to have been for many centuries the Tafsīr al-Jalālain which contains the text of the Qurʾān and a brief linguistic and theological commentary on each verse. It is well known that the study of Islamic theology begins with and is based upon the Qurʾān; thus, the Tafsīr was and remains an important source for theological knowledge among the Dyula of West Africa.³

¹D.S. Margoliouth and Charles Pellat, "AL-HARĪRĪ", EI², III, pp. 221-2; Al-Maqāmat al-Adabiyya (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī, 1369/1950), p. 447; Scham, Lyautey, p. 145.

²Trimingham, Influence of Islam, p. 62.

³Almost every karamoko I interviewed in Ghana and the Ivory Coast had studied the Tafsīr al-Jalālain.

Although it was begun by Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459), an Egyptian jurist and teacher in the Muʿaiyadīyya School, the Tafsīr is better known as the work of his student, Jalāl ad-Dīn b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. abī Bakr as-Suyūṭī, who belonged to a Persian emigrant family of Baghdad and taught Islamic jurisprudence at the well known Shaikhūnīyya School. Perhaps the most prolific Arabic-speaking author in Muslim history, he is said to have written some 591 treatises on grammar, philology, history, prominent traditionists, the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth, etc. As he corresponded with Muslim leaders in Gao, Katsina and Agades in the late 15th century, it seems probable that some of his other works may have been studied in later times in northern Ghana and Bondoukou.¹

With regard to Ḥadīth literature, the principal text in the area under discussion was the Muwattaʾ of Mālik b. Anas. Unlike some of the later and larger collections of Traditions (for example, the Ṣaḥīḥs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim), the Muwattaʾ is not simply a compendium

¹Brockelman, GAL, II, pp. 138, 180-204; idem. "AL-SUYŪṬĪ", EI¹, II, pp. 573-5; John O. Hunwick, "Songhay, Bornu and Hausaland in the sixteenth century" in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., History of West Africa (2 vols; New York: Columbia University Press, 1972-3), I, pp. 213, 220; idem., "Notes on a late fifteenth-century document concerning 'al-Takrūr'" in Christopher Allen and R.W. Johnson, eds., African Perspectives: papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa, presented to Thomas Hodgkin (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 7-8, 24-7, 29.

of Prophet Muhammad's sayings, deeds and acts, but a particular collection of these which provide answers to ritual and legal enquiries. In this respect it would have been extremely useful to West Africans who desired a practical manual of Islamic regulations 'directly from the Prophet'. In fact, however, it contains much of the ijmā' (consensus of legal opinions) of Madina with which Imām Mālik agreed, and some of his own independent judgments and interpretations (ijtihād).¹ Imām Mālik (d. 179/795) was a native of Arabia (of the Ḥimyar) and flourished at Madina as a leading jurist during the first three decades of the 'Abbāsīd period. His initial opposition on legal and partisan (to the 'Alid pretender Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh) grounds to the accession of the Caliph al-Mansūr (136/754 - 158/775) and the subsequent persecution which he was forced to undergo gained for him much popular support in Madina. The Mālikī madhhab that was to spread over most of North and West Africa, including Bondoukou, was named after him. Although he is said to have authored other books, Al-Muwatta' seems to be his sole extant work apart from the Risāla, a long letter to the Caliph Harūn ar-Rashīd dealing with religious, moral and legal matters.²

¹See, for example, "Kitāb at-Talāq" (Book of Divorce) of Al-Muwatta'.

²Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Farḥūn, Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab (Cairo: 'Abbās b. Shaqrūn, 1351, A.H.), pp. 17-29; Brockelmann, GAL, I,

Although Muslim history does not appear to have received much attention, the life and period of Prophet Muhammad was read. The usual text was that of Qādī 'Iyād entitled Ash-Shifā' bi-Ta'rīf Huqūq al-Muṣṭafā which relates the deeds and achievements of Muhammad, and compares him to other prophets of the Bible, the Qur'ān and the Traditions; much emphasis is placed upon the moral and religious virtues of the Prophet and his Companions. That the earlier and generally more popular Sīrat Rasūl Allāh of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833, who adopted it from the works of Ibn Ishāq, d. ca. 150/767) was not widely used is probably due to Imām Mālik's disapproval of Ibn Ishāq for political and personal reasons.¹ 'Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Yahsubī (d. 544/1149), born at Ceuta, was a famous jurist and traditionist, and is one of the better known students of the Spanish philosopher and theologian Ibn Rushd (known in the West as Averroes). Qādī 'Iyād, who was an ardent supporter of the Al-Muwahhidūn (Almohads), served as judge of Ceuta and Cordova. Of his sixteen to twenty works he is perhaps best known in the Muslim world for the Tartīb al-Madārik, a collection of biographies of Mālikī scholars.²

184-6; Joseph Schacht, "MĀLIK b. ANAS", SEI, p. 322; Noel J. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964), pp. 43-7, 66.

¹Brockelmann, "IBN ISHĀK", SEI, p. 149; J.M.B. Jones, "IBN ISHĀK", EI², III, p. 811; Alfred Guillaume, Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh (London: O.U.P., 1955), "Introduction", p. xiii.

²Ibn Farhūn, Dībāj, pp. 168-72; Brockelmann, GAL,

After Arabic, Muslim law seems to have been the most well read of the Islamic sciences. For this discipline there were three main texts. Of primary importance was the Risāla of Ibn abī Zaid. Like most works of jurisprudence, the Risāla contains religious regulations (ʿibādāt) about ritual cleanliness, ablution, prayer, fasting, spiritual seclusion (iʿtikāf), alms, pilgrimage, slaughtering of animals, hunting, circumcision, food and drink, and rules of legal practice (muʿāmalāt) concerning marriage, divorce, sales, inheritance, property, jihād, legal punishment, judicial procedure, pre-emption, trusts, murder, etc. This short and easily read text is a good introduction to Islamic law; its vocabulary is probably the simplest of Arabic legal texts seen by this student. The Risāla is well known among adherents of the Mālikī rite or school, especially in North and West Africa. Its author, ʿAbd Allāh b. abī Zaid al-Qairawānī (d. 386/996), is among the most famous teachers and jurists of tenth-century Tunisia where he was known as "the younger Mālik". His numerous writings and commentaries were primarily responsible for the spread of Mālikī thought in North Africa.¹

I, pp. 455-6, Suppl. I, pp. 630-32; Mohamed Ben Chenab, "ʿIYĀḌ b. MŪSĀ", EI¹, II, pp. 566-7; Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, ed., Tartīb al-Madārik wa Taqrīb al-Masālik li-Maʿrifat Aʿlām Madhhab Mālik (3 vols; Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, n.d.) I, pp. 18-25; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 168.

¹Ibn Farḥūn, Dībāj, pp. 136-8; Brockelmann, GAL,

Having completed the Risāla, a student who desired to specialize in law would most often proceed to read the Mukhtasar of Khalīl. This work is somewhat longer and more difficult than the Risāla. Apart from further elaboration on topics in the above text, the Mukhtasar contains chapters on the qualifications for judgeship, theft, partnership, agency and confinement due to legal incompetence (hijr). Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā (d. ca. 776/1374) was one of the greatest legal minds of Egypt. The son of a Hanafī father, he came under the influence of his Mālikī teacher, 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) and adopted the school of the latter. After spending several years as a teacher at the Shaikhūnīyya and as a muftī, the pious Khalīl retired to the life of an ascetic and devoted himself to study and writing. His Mukhtasar, a summary of a larger work, remains an important text among contemporary Mālikīs.¹

Another widely read legal text was the Tuhfat al-Hukkām fī Nukat al-'Uqūd wal-Aḥkām of Ibn 'Āṣim. With regard to content this work does not differ greatly from

Suppl. I, pp. 301-2; H.R. Idris, "IBN ABĪ ZAYD", EI², III, p. 695; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", pp. 168-9.

¹Ibn Farhūn, Dībāj, pp. 115-6; Aḥmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj bi-Taṭrīz ad-Dībāj, in margin of Ibn Farhūn, pp. 112-5; Brockelmann, GAL, II, pp. 101-3; Cheneb, "KHALĪL b. ISHĀQ", EI¹, II, p. 888; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 169.

the Risāla or the Mukhtaṣar, except that the author was much more concerned with the rules of juristic procedure (aḥkām al-qaḍā') than either Ibn abī Zaid or Khalīl b. Ishāq, and he went still deeper in his elaborations on points raised by them. Like the above texts, the Tuhfa is an important work of Mālikī law, and is especially useful as a practical guide for jurists. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim al-Gharnātī (d. 829/1426) belonged, as did many of his predecessors, to the intellectual class of Granada where he served for a time as chief judge. That he was also an accomplished grammarian and prosodist is evidenced by his ability to compose such a legal manual as the Tuhfa in the rajaz meter. Of the ten works attributed to him only three have survived, among which the above seems to be the better known.¹

Recent field research seems to indicate that very few of the Bondoukou literati had completed more than one advanced text; this was usually the Risāla of Ibn abī Zaid, the Mukhtaṣar of Khalīl, Al-Muwatta' of Mālik or Tafsīr al-Jalālain of al-Maḥallī and As-Suyūṭī. Generally the level of Arabic comprehension was not sufficiently high to permit a detailed study of the advanced texts. This inference is in accord with Commandant le Campion's report of 1907 in which he stated:

¹Aḥmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj, pp. 289-90; Schacht, "IBN 'ĀṢIM", EI², III, pp. 720-1; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 169; Scham, Lyautey, p. 145.

Les marabouts du Cercle sont en général suffisamment lettrés pour saisir le sens d'un texte arabe néanmoins je ne crois pas qu'ils entretiennent de relations suivies et écrites, concernant la politique et la religion avec les contrées voisines...¹

Le *Campion* reported the following concerning students who went on to higher studies:

Sur une classe de vingt élèves ont peut dire que dix-huit ne sauront jamais qu'épeler et écrire des mots qui, pour eux, n'auront aucune signification, les deux autres élèves, fidèles disciples du maître, après neuf à dix années d'études s'assimileront la majeure partie du bagage littéraire de leur professeur.²

If this is an accurate picture of the situation, then it may largely account for the present scarcity of manuscripts written by Bondoukou authors in the post-Samorian period up to the early decades of this century.

The French administration did not directly interfere with the system of education as they did elsewhere in North and West Africa. Indeed directives from Dakar which restricted the number of schools and the activities of the karamokos do not appear to have been executed in Bondoukou.³ The lack of French initiative in this matter

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907.

²ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907.

³See, for example, Robert Arnaud, L'Islam et la Politique Musulmane Française (Paris: Comité de L'Afrique Française, 1912), Chapter II; Lucy C. Behrman, Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal (Cambridge, Massachusetts:

may be construed, however, as an indication that there was no active opposition to the colonial presence.

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ at Bondoukou: Early Contacts

The politico-social milieu of Bondoukou was not strange to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. He had visited the town--perhaps even stayed there for a short time--with his father, Karamoko Muḥammad, before the latter retired to Bouna.¹ Although his permanent residence was in Jinini, he often went to nearby Sorobango and Bondoukou where he became acquainted with other teachers and gave some instruction to students.² These periodic appearances helped al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ gain a reputation as a learned teacher. The fact that he was imām of Jinini, though small and intellectually unimportant, would have exacerbated his attractiveness in Bondoukou.

Apart from his association with the learned elements of the city, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ seems to have had an early acquaintance with the paramount chief of the Abron,

Harvard University Press, 1970), Chapter 6; Martin A. Klein, Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1847-1914 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 219-23; Donald Cruise O'Brein, "Towards An 'Islamic Policy' in French West Africa, 1854-1914", JAH, VIII, 2 (1967), pp. 306, 311, 315.

¹Muḥammad, field notes, interviews with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972.

²Muḥammad, field notes, interviews with Bābā Fatigay Watara, Sorobango 6 March 1972, and Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972.

Tan Daté (of the Zanzan group). Their association would appear to have pre-dated 1904 the date of the latter's accession, as he requested al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ to pray for his victory over his rival.¹ More importantly, Tan Daté's relations with the Jinini imām were somewhat similar to that of a patron and protector, and their association can be viewed as an expression of political opposition to the authority of Imām Kunandi. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was not only the main furnisher of gris-gris (amulets containing passages from the Qur'ān or other ritual expressions) to the paramount chief, but he was also a respected counsellor and confidant.² Though a similar relationship had existed between Imām Kunandi and the leading chiefs prior to the French occupation, there is no mention of such with a paramount chief after Papi. On many occasions when Tan Daté went to Bondoukou he would reside with al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ in the Qunbala quarter, the most hostile to Imām Kunandi.³ Whatever criterion was used, whether indigenous or colonial, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was a stranger or foreigner, and he needed the guaranty or protection of a leading citizen

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 125; Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60, "Fiche de Renseignements: Alagui Soualio", June 1912; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 224; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

³Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Abū Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

to facilitate his movements within the circonscription. This was provided by animists and well known teachers; examples of the latter were Karamoko Muḥammad and Biabudu Bané in whose Qunbala compound Tan Daté and al-Ḥājj Ṣālih resided. It is noteworthy, however, that a cordial relationship did exist between Imām Kunandi and al-Ḥājj Ṣālih before the latter's pilgrimage.¹

The Pilgrimage to Mecca

The personal respect and esteem gained by hujjāj in Bondoukou and other Muslim communities of Africa have been explained by several writers. In short one pilgrimage is obligatory (farḍ'ain) upon a male Muslim adult whose health and financial means permit him to undertake the journey without hardship. The occasion affords a meeting place for believers of diverse backgrounds and circumstances to become acquainted with other Muslims and to gain some understanding of prevailing conditions in other parts of the Umma l-Islāmiyya, and thus increases the general Muslim communal spirit. For a member of a Ṣūfī brotherhood, the pilgrimage has the effect of fulfilling a religious duty which pleases Allah and qualifies him for a certain baraka, and further reinforces the personal piety and faith of the pilgrim. From the perspective of the Muslim community the Sufi pilgrim has

¹Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchī, 10 March 1972.

largely completed his religious duties and is unquestionably more deserving of the appellation 'holy man'. Lastly, the pilgrim is respected as one who is knowledgeable about worldly circumstances and distant places which he saw during his journey; in this regard he was even more experienced than itinerant traders.

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ began his pilgrimage from Jinini in 1909 and travelled to Sekondi via Wenchi and Kumasi. He was accompanied by seven or eight members of his family and one of his students of Banda.¹ It is said that they boarded a British ship of the Dempster Steam Company at Sekondi and sailed to Conakry, Dakar, Las Palmas and Casablanca en route to Alexandria, Egypt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and his party disembarked at Alexandria and spent some four months in Cairo.

In Cairo, he visited the great citadel of Islamic learning, Al-Azhar, where he became acquainted with its well known Mālikī rector, Shaikh Salīm al-Bishrī (d. 1335/1916-7). At the time of his visit the prominent teachers and administrators of Al-Azhar, indeed the Egyptian Muslim intellectual class, were still divided over the recent reform program of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), whose modernist views were adamantly resisted by the majority of the conservative 'ulama'.² Shaikh al-Bishrī, who was

¹Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²J. Jomier, "al-AZHAR", EI², I, pp. 817-8, 820;

in the last year of his second term as rector of Al-Azhar, was generally opposed to 'Abduh's reforms and was one of the leading traditionalists of the university. He had graduated from Al-Azhar and enjoyed a wide reputation as an expert on Ḥadīth literature.¹ It is said that al-Bishrī appreciated al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's knowledge of the Islamic sciences and gave him a certificate or isnād authorizing him to teach Arabic, Islamic jurisprudence and exegesis. Al-Bishrī, who allegedly was a Tijānī muqaddam, is also said to have renewed his isnād for the Tijānīyya. Of the three books which he gave to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ were the important Mālikī work on fiqh, Hāshiyat ad-Dusūqī 'alā sh-Sharḥ al-Kabīr written by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Arafa ad-Dusūqī (d. 1230), and a copy of the well known Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī.² Unfortunately we

Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), pp. 97-8; Nikki R. Keddie, Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 193-4; Mahmoud Abu al-Eyoun, Al-Azhar: A Short Historical Survey (Cairo: Al-Azhar Press n. d.), p. 32; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khufājī, Al-Azhar fī Alf 'Ām (3 vols., Cairo: Maṭba'at l-Munīriyya, 1374), I, pp. 162-3; II, p. 21.

¹Jomier, "al-AZHAR", EI², p. 820.

²Muḥammad, field notes, interviews with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

know nothing else about al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's association with al-Bishrī.

After leaving Cairo, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ went to Mecca, presumably via Suez or Port Sa'īd to the Saudi Arabian port of Jidda and by land to Mecca. In the latter city he was fortunate not to have had to spend his nights in the pilgrim tents, for he was the guest of the well known Saghanughu teacher, 'Abdu r-Rahmān of Kong who died at Mecca after a residence there of many years. He then completed the pilgrimage rites with a visit to Prophet Muhammad's mosque and tomb at Madina.¹

First Residence at Bondoukou

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ returned to Bondoukou via Jinini in 1910 after an absence of nine months.² His stay at Jinini seems to have been of short duration and somewhat unimportant, for none of my informants were able to remember any significant event of that period. In any case, there was little in that Hwela village of agriculturalists to permanently interest a scholar of his caliber.

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's return to Bondoukou was welcomed by his former associates and Imām Kunandi Timitay. He entered Bondoudou in a manner befitting an important

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n.l.; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

visiting chief or ruler. The present Imām, who was then Imām Kunandi's messenger, relates the incident thusly:

When Ṣālih arrived from Mecca there was no food in Bondoukou. He settled in Qunbala with chief Yawkara. He sent a message to Kunandi that he was coming to Bondoukou. Kunandi asked the chief of Wuluchi to give Ṣālih food; one thousand ears of corn, one hundred yams, one sheep and twelve fowls were prepared for him. Then Kunandi sent another messenger to tell that chief /ōf Kosindawa/ what had been done in the first village, Kunandi sent the same message to the Fumasa quarter. Food was prepared and taken to the Qunbala quarter for Ṣālih.¹

While this account seems exaggerated with respect to the quantities of food, it shows, nevertheless, that al-Hājj Ṣālih entered Bondoukou with the agreement of Imām Kunandi. Al-Hājj Ṣālih spent much of the next two years in Bondoukou, except for frequent short visits to Jinini and a brief expulsion which will be discussed below. He and the Imām were "very good friends; . . . he wanted to come every day to greet Kunandi".² One may conclude, therefore, that during part of the 1910-1912 period relations between the two men were cordial.

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

²Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972, and al-Hājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

This relationship should be seen against their respective backgrounds and that of the learned persons in Bondoukou. Kunandi was a native of the town, the Imām, a French subject and an official in the administration; Ṣāliḥ was a stranger, an erudite teacher, a hājjī, a subject of British controlled Western Asante in which Jinini was situated, a resident of Qunbala and a close associate of prominent animist chiefs. He was probably more learned than any other teacher in Bondoukou. The French record of 1912 lists the seven most influential marabouts of the Cercle in the following order: (1) al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, (2) Kunandi Timitay, (3) Karamoko Lazuzane (al-Ḥasan), (4) al-Ḥājj ʿAlī, (5) Amadou (Aḥmad) Watara, (6) al-Ḥājj Abū Bakr, (7) Karamoghoma Watara.¹ The present Imām attests to the high level of erudition reached by al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ: "Ṣāliḥ was very learned . . . /and/ . . . respected like a chief."² Thus, according to Islamic law, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was better qualified for the imāmate than Kunandi, that he was a stranger is irrelevant. It is also noteworthy that the Imām, like his predecessors, never performed the pilgrimage. In fact, the whole Cercle did not have but two hājjīs as late as January 1904, one in Bondoukou and the other in Barabo, both of whom were

¹ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 103, "Fiche sur les marabouts de Bondoukou", 26 June 1912.

²Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

very old.¹ By 1912 there were only three in the town, including al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.²

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ 'opened a school' in the Qunbala section and became very influential in Bondoukou. He attracted students from Fagula-Banda (northern Gold Coast) and Jinini. There is no indication in my sources that any other Bondoukou karamoko's reputation extended so far; some of them did attract students from neighboring Barabo and Sorobango. In mid-1912 he is officially listed as having sixteen students, five of whom were "parents du marabout".³ Among his students were the well known nephew of Imām Kunandi, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay who is locally known as Karamoko Subruni (d. ca. 1957) and Karamoko Biabudi Bané, the Tijānī muqaddam.⁴ Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ also initiated many men of the region into the order.⁵

¹A. Nebout, "Monographie du Cercle de Bondoukou", in F. J. Clozel, Dix Ans a la Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1906), p. 183.

²ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 103, 26 June 1912; ARSD, 5 G 63, nos. 1-86 passim.

³ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.

⁴Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 8 March 1973, and Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé 6 March 1972.

⁵Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Baba Fatigay Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarī b. Muhammad, Sorobango, 6 March 1972.

Apart from his intellectual achievements, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was much respected by animists and Muslims for his moral and religious character.

Sa tenue, sa conduite, et on peut ajouter la pureté de ses mœurs font que les indigènes fétichistes viennent souvent le consulter, au lieu et place de leurs chefs, qui sont dans la plupart des cas des ivrognes, que les divers abus ont rendu totalement incapables.../il/ Est arrivé à gagner la confiance du roi Abron Tan Daté, chef de presque tout le pays Bondoukou, qui lui fait de très nombreux cadeaux. A surveiller de crainte qu'il n'arrive à convertir quelques membres de sa famille. En outre un très grand nombre de chefs de cases de Bondoukou voudraient lui donner la succession du marabout Mama /Karamoko Muḥammad/, décédé récemment (très grand marabout) avec lequel il a quelques vagues liens de parenté, et l'installer, ainsi, définitivement à Bondoukou.¹

Besides its information concerning the piety of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, the above statement imparts some useful hints about the extent of his personal influence which was certain to affect his relations with Imām Kunandi.

Firstly, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ had become a counsellor and friend to animists other than the paramount chief; presumably these were heads of compounds and less influential members of the non-Muslim society. His association with Tan Daté would have almost automatically

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.

approved and encouraged such relationships whenever possible.

Secondly, al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's means of livelihood seem to have depended overwhelmingly upon gifts from Tan Daté: "Sa famille est dit-on très riche mais il vit principalement des aumônes et cadeaux..."¹ It is probable that he also received some form of payment from his students and their families, as well as some material support from Muslims. It is fairly certain that he was not engaged in trade at this time as we shall see shortly.

Thirdly, he did not attempt to convert the Abron to Islam. Whether this was a political tactic or negligence of his religious duty is unclear. However, I suggest that his inactivity in this respect was politically motivated. The circumstances of his residence at Bondoukou--that is, being a British rather than French subject--necessitated caution and respect for the old Abron interdiction against proselytization,² if he was to maintain good relations with them. Imām Kunandi could and did take advantage of the French presence to violate this customary prohibition; but he converted few if any Abron.³

Fourthly, by the time of Karamoko Muhammad's death

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.

²ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 220, "Rapport sur le situation de l'Islam dans le Cercle", 14 October 1910.

³Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.

(ca. 1910-11) al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was supported by many compound chiefs (chefs de cases) not only in the Qunbala section, but in various gabīlas of the town. It is probable that Karamoko Muḥammad had been chief of the Qunbalas. For the section's inhabitants to raise al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ to this position would have had unfavorable political connotations for Imām Kunandi who had little or no reason to have liked the deceased. Imām Qudus states that "The Qunbalas had a karamoko named Maḥama (Muḥammad) who tried to depose Kunandi; he attacked Kunandi's rulings (issued in the Tribunal de Circonscription de Bondoukou) many times."¹

There can be little objection to the contention that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ desired to exercise political influence--even political power. Indeed, some of my informants unpromptedly admitted that he wished to be imām.² If we ignore the colonial requirement of citizenship, and consider his qualifications for the imāmate in the light of Islamic law, then surely he was a good candidate for the office. According to our information, he was the most learned in the religious

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

²Muhammad, field notes, interviews with al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Boyo, Kumasi, 3 March 1972, and Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972. None of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's descendents replied negatively to the suggestion that he would have accepted the imāmate of Bondoukou.

sciences and among the most pious of the town's Muslim population. It is almost inconceivable that with such popular support he would have been averse to deposing Imām Kunandi in his own favor. However, his ambitions were initially thwarted by the Imām's French protectors and later by his own lack of political foresight.

Deportation and Aborted Aspirations

Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih was expelled from Bondoukou twice. However, it is difficult to date each deportation precisely, as most of our written and oral data do not give specific dates, nor are the circumstances sufficiently clear to permit an accurate chronology. Hence, we are compelled to compare the records and surmise the causes and results of the events. In the interest of clarity we shall quote the material concerning his expulsions. The earliest mention of his conflict with the administration is in his colonial fiche which reads as follows:

Par suite de son attitude irrespectueuse envers Administrateur Latapie commandant le Cercle de Bondoukou, et n'ayant pu prouver en outre, ses moyens d'existence, il avait été expulsé de Bondoukou. Mais sur les instances du roi fétichiste l'administrateur Latapie l'autorisa à séjourner à Bondoukou. C'est alors que Saoualio se livra au Commerce.¹

This document makes five significant points: (1) that al-Ḥājj Ṣālih was disrespectful to Commandant Latapie,

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.

(2) that he lacked proof of an acceptable means of livelihood, (3) that he was expelled for the above reasons, (4) that he was re-admitted upon the insistence of animists and Muslim notables, and (5) that upon his return he became a trader. It is also noteworthy that the report mentions only one deportation, does not give any dates and suggests that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was still residing in Bondoukou when it was written, June 1912. That he was expelled twice is supported by the published sources and the testimony of one of his descendants.¹ It is unfortunate that the term of office of Latapie is unknown; but it is fairly clear that he was not the Commandant of Bondoukou at the time of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's second deportation. Let us now consider the first two points.

We do not understand what is meant by the phrase "son attitude irrespectueuse".² However, there is no doubt that his conduct immediately prior to his final expulsion would have been considered disrespectful. With regard to this first expulsion, it seems plausible that it may have partly resulted from a contest for

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n. 1; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 224-5; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972.

²I was unable to find papers or a diary of Commandant Latapie in the archives of the Ivory Coast or Senegal, nor have I found his name in the several author lists of articles or published books which I consulted.

political influence between al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, the stranger, and Imām Kunandi, the Chef de Canton. While this is admittedly conjecture, it is not unlikely in the situation which emerged after al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's return from the pilgrimage. It is possible that during the course of interrogation he made a discourteous remark to either or both the Commandant and the Imām. If this was the case, then he was in violation of colonial law. An arrêté dated 14 September 1907 states in part:

Sont considérés comme infractions spéciales aux indigènes non citoyens français et à ceux qui leur sont assimilés, les faits et actes ci-après déterminés:...tout acte irrespectueux ou propos offensant vis-à-vis d'un représentant ou d'un agent de l'autorité...¹

With respect to the second charge, a circular of 1906 had indicated that "tout marabout quêteur doit, avant de commencer sa tournée d'aumônes, obtenir une autorisation préalable de l'administration..." This edict was reinforced by another of 26 December 1911 that strictly prohibited marabouts from living off alms alone under penalty of imprisonment.² It is clear that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ depended on the generosity of his supporters; that he also received some form of payment from his students is probable. In any case, his activities in Bondoukou coincided with a period in which the colonial authorities

¹Arnaud, Politique Musulmane, p. 120, n. 1.

²Arnaud, Politique Musulmane, pp. 120, 123; Behrman, Muslim Brotherhoods, p. 40.

throughout French West Africa were applying increasingly stringent measures to curb the influence of marabouts. Indeed, one of the main aspects of Governor-General William Ponty's policies was the weakening of the influence of indigenous notables, both Muslims and non-Muslims, while retaining them as powerless appendages.¹ As al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was not a French subject and did not at the time, demonstrate an inclination to serve the administration he was expelled from the Cercle rather than imprisoned. He was, however, prepared to act as a colonial agent after his return.

Our information about the activities of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ between his expulsion and his re-entry into Bondoukou is again exiguous and insufficient; we can only surmise his whereabouts. He probably returned to Jinini, where his position and influence were secure, and continued to teach and serve as imām of the community. It is possible that he engaged in some form of farming and trading. However, more importantly, is that his associates in Bondoukou were sufficiently desirous of his presence there that they took the initiative in petitioning the authorities to permit his return. The probability that he maintained contact with them from Jinini and requested that they act in his behalf cannot

¹See Ponty's remarks of 22 September 1909 to his lieutenant-governors in "Afrique Occidentale Française", Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, Bulletin Mensuel (BCAF), No. 10 (October-1909), pp. 348-9; Behrman, Muslim Brotherhoods, p. 41.

be ruled out. Nevertheless, their action is a clear indication that native Bondoukou leadership was divided over the presence and role of a stranger in that town. As Imām Kunandi is not mentioned anywhere as one of the petitioners, it may be assumed that he was either neutral or against al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's return; in retrospect, the latter position seems to have been the most probable.

It was not long after his expulsion that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ re-entered Bondoukou. The statement in the colonial record that he returned as a trader is denied by all of my informants except one. Karamoko Kiya, a grandson of Karamoko Muḥammad, states that during his second residence at Bondoukou:

"Ṣāliḥ was primarily a teacher. (However,) He used to go as far as Cape Coast selling sheep and cattle. He had agents who trade for him... he was a big trader."¹

It is probable that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ resumed his commercial dealings in order to qualify for legal residence and to cover his teaching activities both of which, we believe, he hoped would aid in his accession to the imāmate. We believe the following closely approximates the situation which obtained at that time. Politically the French authorities were primarily interested in maintaining the Muslim status quo. This was important to ensure the profitability of the colony. Until now the position of

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Kiya, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

their agent, Imām Kunandi, was not seriously threatened though he had lost the respect of several prominent animists and Muslims. Both groups were unhappy about his extensive authority; the Muslims considered him more a chief than an imām.¹ However, they were not prepared to chance an open confrontation with him for the peaceful pursuit of their livelihoods in Bondoukou depended on his disposition toward them. Had they opposed him directly, and had the French thought it in their own interest to support the Chef de Canton, then the opposition may have been rounded up and charged with violating the same law under which al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ had previously been expelled. Further, as the Imām was the president of the Muslim tribunal, they may have been judged quite severely. Such a course was far too risky. Hence, they chose the indirect course of supporting a very influential teacher who was a foreigner only with respect to French law. He was a Dyula, a learned hājjī and one whose father was well remembered in their town. Moreover, al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ probably enjoyed good relations with traders from Kong, Bobo-Dioulasso and Bouna, as they were respectively the places of his birth, that of some of his predecessors and the teaching activities and death of his saintly father, Sīdī Muḥammad. However, al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ knew very well that, in spite of such strong support, he was not in a position to publicly

¹Wilks, field notes, interview with al-Hajj ʿUthmān Watara, Bondoukou, 16 August 1969; Muḥammad, field notes, interview with al-Hājj Boyo, Kumasi, 3 March 1972.



7. Imām Muhammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou.

oppose Imām Kunandi and effect his deposition. It was necessary for him to gain the favor of the Commandant who was undoubtedly the real authority in Bondoukou.

The accounts of the second and last encounter between al-Hājj Sālīh and the authorities differ as to its immediate cause. Imām Qudus relates the incident in the following manner:

Strangers in Bondoukou made Sālīh responsible for their affairs after his pilgrimage. The commandant said that any landlord should collect from strangers (resident on his property). Strangers collected their own monies, 6000 francs, and handed it to Sālīh. Each stranger should pay three farthings to collect 6000 francs.¹ This amount was collected by Sālīh and he took it to the commandant and showed him that he could collect a large sum.

¹According to an Arrêté of 14 May 1901, Ivoirians above age ten were required to pay an annual poll tax of 2.50 francs. On 25 November 1908, the amount was changed to between 50 centimes and 4.50 francs for the Ivory Coast; each commandant could recommend to his lieutenant-governor a fixed tax for his cercle. From 1910 the inhabitants of Bondoukou were required to pay 3 francs; those of Bouna paid 2.50 francs. In 1908, Imām Kunandi collected 8762.50 francs which was more than one-third of the total (20457.50) collected by Chief Tan Daté. Since population statistics for Bondoukou remained fairly uniform it would seem that about a full two-thirds of Bondoukou's inhabitants paid their taxes to al-Hājj Sālīh. See "La Pacification de la Côte d'Ivoire", BCAF, Renseignement Coloniaux, No. 10; ANCI, xv-45-124, No. 37, "10% de l'impôt aux Chefs indigènes", 4 September 1908.

The commandant was surprised and gave him a high position in Bondoukou. The commandant asked Ṣāliḥ to come to his bureau...Ṣāliḥ was given a special place to live. Ṣāliḥ wanted to gather people to go with him to the commandant to show his power. The Qunbalas gathered with three praisers to go with Ṣāliḥ who was dressed in an expensive apparel. They arrived at the bureau carrying blankets from Mecca which were put in the bureau for Ṣāliḥ to sit on; the chairs were removed. This annoyed the commandant. He feared the results of the act had he allowed it to continue; as Ṣāliḥ was not yet appointed the commandant feared the consequences. He was to be appointed responsible for strangers. The Qunbalas were very happy over the intended appointment, as they hated Kunandi. Ṣāliḥ had a fine special chair covered with blankets on which he sat. The commandant pushed Ṣāliḥ's head-dress off with his stick; with the latter he hit him several times. Kunandi was informed of the incident, and we went to the bureau. On the way we met the commandant; he was very angry and refused to greet Kunandi. We continued on to Ṣāliḥ. The commandant returned and asked Ṣāliḥ where he was from. Ṣāliḥ replied that he was from Jinini. He was ordered to leave Bondoukou for that place the same day. The people who moved the chairs caused the trouble. Kunandi asked the commandant to pardon Ṣāliḥ.¹

Most of my informants of Jinini and Wenchi claim that the Imām was primarily responsible for al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's deportation. The following is representative of their responses:

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

"He (al-Ḥājj Ṣālih) had many followers in Bondoukou from various quarters of the town...One Friday he went to the Friday mosque (in the Timitay quarter)... That Friday he wore the fine garments which he had purchased in Cairo. A maḍīḥ of Jinini was there and sang praises to Ṣālih...Kunandi was angry. He sent a letter to the commandant saying that this one from Ghana wanted to be chief. The commandant summoned Ṣālih...(and) asked where he was from. Ṣālih replied that he was from Jinini. The commandant said that he had heard that he was from Bobo. Ṣālih said that he was from there (by descent). He asked why Ṣālih did not return to Bobo. Ṣālih replied that as he had married from Salaga and Jinini he settled in English territory. The commandant asked whether he was a chief or a mallam. Ṣālih replied that he was a mallam. But the officer insisted that he was a chief, a war chief, since he wore those fine clothes and people came from Mali, Ghana and other places to help him make war. Bondoukou was under the French (the commandant continued) and Ṣālih was not permitted to sleep there...He left Bondoukou without returning to his house. Before his pilgrimage he heard that some people of Bondoukou did not like him. Ṣālih's family suspect Kunandi who did not like anyone who befriended Ṣālih."¹

A significant difference between the two accounts seems to be the reason for the meeting between the commandant and al-Ḥājj Ṣālih. These accounts may be viewed as generally complementary. Imām Qudus' testimony that al-Ḥājj Ṣālih had impressed the officer with his ability

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

to collect such a large sum of poll tax is acceptable. Elated by the commandant's favorable attitude toward him, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and his followers may have attended the Friday prayer in the Timitay quarter--possibly for the first time. They felt strong enough to publicly demonstrate their opposition to Imām Kunandi. The latter, who had hitherto been responsible for collecting the tax, saw his position further threatened by what appeared to be an overt governmental approval of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. Hence, the Imām accused him of wanting to be a chief, probably in the political sense of the term.¹ The manner in which al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ appeared before the commandant seemed to support the Imām's contention. Now the officer was faced with the choice of retaining the services of the Imām who was a loyal servant of France, or appointing al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ who appeared somewhat haughty and arrogant, and who may have eventually threatened the general tranquillity of Bondoukou. It is quite reasonable to assume that had al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ gone to the administrator's office alone, he would have thus embarked upon the road to political authority in the town. We do not have sufficient information about his personality and character to suggest that he would have acceded to the imāmate of Bondoukou.

Although he was deported, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's activities

¹Wilks, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Watara, Bondoukou, 16 August 1969.

were to further exacerbate the political tension in Bondoukou. It was stated in chapter one that the Timitay imāmate was not without its religio-political opponents, mainly Kamaghatays and Qunbalas. The Kamaghatay claim during the very early years of the French presence that the Timitays had usurped the imāmate from them does not seem to have had much popular support.¹ The Qunbalas had never, as a qabīla, openly challenged the authority of a Timitay imām. The imām family appears to have always been united against the opposition. None of this is true for the period immediately before the second expulsion of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. His supporters included "divers chefs de quartier de Bondoukou", the paramount chief and other animists, as well as foreign elements (some of whom were probably traders). By 1912 the overwhelming majority of the town's Dyulas were prepared to pay their taxes directly to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, thus hindering Imām Kunandi from performing one of his primary duties as chef de canton. It is not necessary to surmise the effects this must have had on his dignity. Furthermore, an important member of the Timitay family, Karamoko Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, supported al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. Suffice it to say that the Qunbalas became the leading dissidents and in the following year, 1913, caused the Imām to abandon the city.

¹J.J. Holden, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

Kunandi left Bondoukou and went to Sunyani. The hatred of the Qunbalas was the reason for this...The commandant forced the people to make him return. I and another Timitay of Sampa were sent with a letter from the commandant. Relations between the Timitays and the Qunbalas are still not normal; there have been quarrels recently. Still many Qunbalas will not pray with the Timitays.¹

In light of the above testimony of Imām Qudus and the internal division in the Dyula community which culminated in 1912, it is difficult to accept the official report that Imām Kunandi left Bondoukou in order to trade in kola nuts.² Imām Qudus Timitay further reports that before Imām Kunandi's departure the latter emphatically stated "...that he would not return."³

There is no indication in my sources that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's stay at Bondoukou had any obvious effect on the curriculum of Muslim schools. That he was highly respected as a teacher is further evidenced by the fact that some of his students, notable among whom was Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, left Bondoukou to continue their

¹Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

²See the text of the commandant's letter to the governor of the Ivory Coast regarding the departure of Imām Kunandi in Appendix I.

³Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972. At the instigation of the French and some leading Timitays Imām Kunandi returned in 1914.

studies with him. These, of course, were generally advanced students who wished to either re-read or begin the study of a particular book in Arabic grammar, Quranic and Hadīth exegesis and law with a view to including his name in their isnāds. His reputation as a Tijānī muqaddam also attracted would-be initiates for similar reasons;¹ unfortunately our information about al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ in this regard is extremely scanty.

The Last Years

The expulsion of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ from Bondoukou marks the second and perhaps the most important turning point in his life. During the past decade he had devoted much of his energy to attaining politico-religious stature in Bondoukou and making the latter his permanent place of residence. Still less than forty years old, he seems to have abandoned any hope of a politically active future. It appears that the last French intelligence regarding him was expressed by Marty: "Aux dernieres nouvelles, Alagui Soualio, craignant des tracasseries, s'est retiré à Diennéné."² Disappointed in the course of recent events, he resumed his activities as imām of Jinini, and teacher and muqaddam to the faithful; he is also said to

¹Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 8 March 1972, al-Ḥājj Bakarī b. Muḥammad Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972 and Bābā Fatigay Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972.

²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.

have done some farming.¹ However, his return to this small agricultural village was, in spite of the piety of its inhabitants, a tremendous setback for such an erudite and ambitious man.

Undoubtedly he was delighted when in 1924 he was invited by some Hausas, Bandas and Wangaras (Dyula merchants) to go and teach in British-controlled Wenchi. There he "opened a large school" and taught about fifty students, including some of the town's elders, advanced 'books' in Arabic, theology and law; he also conferred the Tijānī wird upon "many Hausas and Bandas". His reputation as a pious scholar soon gained for him the post of Friday imām of Wenchi. This was not preceded by any conflict with the local authorities.² Recognizing the superior qualifications of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, Imām Gawsu is said to have relinquished the office to him. He remained Friday imām until his death in July or August, 1932 when Gawsu resumed the position.³

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was buried at Wenchi in somewhat surprising simplicity. His grave unlike that of his father, is in an open and over-grown field and has no

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Karamoko Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguélé, 6 March 1972, al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

³Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Moro (ʿUmar) Dogo Banda, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.

readily apparent marking. The tradition of learning and piety of his branch of the Tarawiri family was continued by his two sons, Sulaimān and Jatagakiya, both of whom died in 1950, and their descendants until the present day.

KARAMOKO MUHAMMAD'S COMMENTARY ON AS-SANŪSĪ'S RISĀLA

This section of our study presents some examples of late 19th and early 20th century Dyula writings primarily from the northern Ivory Coast and Ghana. Our main concern is to expose the reader to selections from the writings of the Tarawiri (Jōnī or Zōnī) family including Karamoko Muḥammad, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya. However, we have added relevant compositions by al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr and Karamoko Abū l-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusain) Timitay both of whom enjoyed a close relationship with al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.

The following manuscript, Sūl ar-Rāthī ("Request of the Elegizer"), was written by al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr (d. 1932). In this work the author elegizes Karamoko Muḥammad and writes about the character of and his relations with al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar clearly demonstrates his knowledge of the Arabic language and a familiarity with some of the most prominent persons of the early centuries of Islamic history.

This is a xerox copy of another which is in the Arabic collection of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, IASAR/76. Neither the name of the scribe nor the date of this copy is known. The Institute's copy, obtained in 1963 from a late grandson of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, Ṣāliḥ Jabaghatay b. al-Ḥājj Sulaimān of Jinini, is written in a modified Maghribī script

which is finer than those of the remaining documents
in this part.

Sul Ar-Rāthī

Folio Ia

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّيَ اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
وَوَالِهِ وَوَحْيِهِ وَوَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا اللَّهُ جَاعِلُ بَيْتِ خَلْقِهِ
مَوْدِنًا وَرَحْمَةً إِلَهُ أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ مُحَمَّدًا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
لِلْعَالَمِينَ رَحْمَةً عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
أَمَّا بَعْدُ بِقَوْلِ عَمْرِو بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ الْكَبِيرِ نَسَبًا الْكَبِيرُ
مَوْلِدُهُ أَوْ مَا سَكَنَّا قَدْ مَارَسْنَا مِنْ مَارَسْنَا مِنَ الْأَصْدِقَاءِ
وَالْأَحِبَّاءِ وَهِيَ السُّنَّةُ مِنْ جِبَالِ السُّنَّةِ مِنَ الْأَمِيرَةِ وَالْأَكْبَادِ
وَمَا لَمْ نَكُنْ مِنْ خَالِطَاتِ مِنَ الْأَهْلِ الْمَدِينِ وَالْقُرَى وَلَا زَيْتُ مِنْ
لَا زَيْتُ فِي الْبَيْتِ وَالسُّنَّةُ ذَهَابًا وَأَبْيَابًا وَمَا صَحِبَتْ مِنْ
صَاحِبَاتٍ فِي بِلَادٍ وَالْقُرَى جَمَاعَةً وَهِيَ وَلَا زَيْتُ وَلَا عِلْمُ
أَصْلِهِ وَمَا لَمْ نَكُنْ وَلَا أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ وَلَا أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ
وَلَا أَهْلُ مِلَّةٍ وَلَا أَهْلُ مِلَّةٍ مَكَانَهُ مِنْ كَالِمِ أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ
الْمَرْجُومِ رَحِمَ اللَّهُ مَا ذَكَرْتُمْ أَسْمَاءَ نِسَائِهِ وَتَقَامِلًا
تَحْوِي عَشْرَةَ أَهْوَاءٍ أَوْ أَكْثَرَ وَتَحْوِي بَيْنَ بَنَاتِهِ السُّنَّةِ
الْخَيْرِ بِبَيْتِهِ وَرُجْعَ الْأَرْضِ وَالْبَيْتِ وَهِيَ لَا زَيْتُ مِنْ بِلَادٍ
وَلَا أَهْلُ مِلَّةٍ مِنْهُ جِبَالِ السُّنَّةِ وَلَا أَهْلُ مِلَّةٍ مِنْهُ لَمْ أَهْلُ
رُجْعَ السُّنَّةِ مِنْهُ أَوْ لَمْ يَسْمَعْ وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يُلْقِي أَمْرًا فِي بَيْتِهِ
الْشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدٍ رَحِمَ اللَّهُ بِلَادَهُ الْأَبْيَادَ عَلَى بَيْتِ الْكَامِلِ تَقَامِلًا
بَارِئُكُمْ إِلَهُ دَرَجَتِهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ ثُمَّ فِي هَذِهِ الْأَبْيَادِ
بِرَأْسِهِ الْأَهْلُ لَمْ تَقَامِلًا بِبَيْتِهِ الْأَهْلُ أَوْ بِلَادِهِ الْأَهْلُ
أَوْ بِلَادِهِ الْأَهْلُ الْأَهْلُ الْأَهْلُ الْأَهْلُ الْأَهْلُ الْأَهْلُ
أَبْيَادُهَا شَمَانِيَّةٌ وَتَحْوِي بَيْنَ بَنَاتِهِ السُّنَّةِ

Request of the Elegizer

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate, may Allah bless our master Muhammad, his family, companions, and grant him approval. Praise to Allah the inseminator (jā'il) of love and mercy among His creatures; Who sent His messenger Muhammad, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, to mankind (li l-'ālamīn) as a mercy; upon him and his family be the best blessings and peace. Now then, 'Umar b. abī Bakr, al-Kabawī according to lineage, al-Kanawī¹ according to birthplace and residence, says: I have contended with some friends and beloved ones; I have kept company of students (pupils) and friends; I have associated with townspeople and villagers; I have had close companions in town and on journeys, going and coming; I have befriended people in my town and the vicinity; but I have neither found, nor seen, nor known one more competent in debate, nor more amicable in social intercourse, nor more pleasant in association, nor more deserving of close companionship, nor more beneficial to befriend than Ṣāliḥ, son of Muhammad, the deceased. The basis (shāhid) for what I said is that we knew and dealt with each other about ten years or more when we were among the sons of yester-years (abnā' az-zamān) who spread iniquity in the country and were not upright. I did not see him do any wrong; nor did I hear that he did wrong to me or anyone else, though I do not know whether some other person saw or heard such; Allah knows best! When he heard of the death of his father, Shaikh Muhammad, we elegized him with these verses in the kāmil meter, hoping that Allah will raise his standing (yukammil darajatahu) in the Hereafter. Further, in these verses is the proficiency of the observer (barā'at al-muṭṭalli') to whoever contemplates what is in our composition (qawlinā), hal wābil,² because we mean to /implore Allah/

¹The place-nisba for Kano, Northern Nigeria.

²This is not the title of the elegy.

to send a heavy downpour (wābil) of mercy upon the elegized. I made the number of verses fifty-eight, the number [represented by the] letters of جنة,

Folio Ib

according to the numerical value of the alphabets (bi-hisāb al-jummal), hoping that Allah will lodge the elegized in His spacious high Paradise. Then I entreated those who have the favor of their Lord. I chose for it (fīhā) the rhyme bā', hoping that Allah will open the door of mercy to him, entitling it Sūl ar-Rāthī (Request of the Elegizer) which is this qaṣīda. Allah is the One from Whom aid is sought and on Whom is dependence; there is no power and no strength except in Allah, the Sublime, the Great.

Is [it] a heavy downpour or tears pouring from my eyes?¹
 Or is [it] ghurāb al-bain,² my heart, cawing?
 Or the Tigris or Tangier or their Nile [rivers]
 Running or flowing on my cheek consecutively?
 Or is it a vision of beloved ones who visited us?
 Or did my heart yearn there and wept?
 Or remembered my friend [and then] returned to me ('ādānī)?³
 Or did the darkness of the marketplaces descend, O my heart?
 Or did a star find its tower in the center of the heart?
 Or did the crescent of grief shine and not disappear?
 Or did I hear a thicket dove blaming

¹The word ajfānī literally means 'eyelids'.

²The term ghurāb al-bain refers to the caw of a crow or raven immediately before his migratory flight. In some Arabic-speaking societies it is cause for pessimism and sometimes interpreted as a bad omen. It is an insult to liken a person to the ghurāb al-bain. The term is also applied to Corvus, a southern constellation near Virgo.

³Perhaps the original word was 'ādānī (abandoned or became hostile to me) which seems more appropriate here.

A young bird as if the bird had entered the burrow?
 And a caller invited you to what certainly should be heard.
 Do I not call my friend, and does he answer?
 Leave this and that; a perfect shaikh died
 /Who/ knew the masā'il,¹ their import and literature!
 I heard that he /was/ high-minded (or resolute).
 We were taken by surprise by his departure /from/ this painful world.
 We tasted the bitterest of the bitter, O my brother,
 With the departure of this shaikh; say, patience is necessary!
 Had it not been for endurance and patience, we certainly
 Would have pined away wherever /the/ father died!
 Surely we entreated that he be among those
 Who /are granted/ the mercy of the Merciful by a tail withdrawn.
 O our Lord, answer (ḥaqqiq) all our entreaties,
 And be merciful to him, O my Lord, to the degree of those
 of high standing:
 Fāṭima the recluse, her husband /Alī/,
 Her two sons /Ḥasan and Husain/, and he who wrote the Book.²
 O Lord, dress him in the garments of acceptance,
 And grant him Paradise.
 By this statement I mean Shaikh Muhammad,
 Grandfather of Sulaimān, son of Sālih, without a doubt;
 The caller /to the study of the/ sciences, their sources
 and branches;
 The unlettered (shurrādahā) replied embarrassingly (or angrily).

¹The author probably meant 'religious matters'.

²Perhaps this is a reference to the scribes who recorded the revelations.

Folio IIa

He raised the importance (riqāb) of grammar, previously lowly rated,¹

After reading [ōf the Qur'ān], Traditions and (ma'a) occasions of revelation.²

He answered [the needs] of their enunciation and language simultaneously,

And likewise the meanings, religious obligations and mathematics.

O passer of the grave of Shaikh Muhammad,
Stop and invoke acceptance [for him]; that is good manners (adab)!

Do not deny what was said of his lights (piety).

In his grave [he is] radiant, O you who loved [him].

This is our supplication, rather our hope for

He who died in Islam; moreover [it is our] greatest wish.

Lighten for him the affairs of the grave, O our God.

Grant him the bed of contentment with pleasure.

Submerge him in the sea of satisfaction, O Merciful One.

O You Forgiver of those who repent,

Forgive him and be merciful to him, O Lord of mankind,

A kind pardon, and grant on the Day of Return

Water and cattle to Shaikh Muhammad.

In his grave is written what was on the parchment of the Book

Of a heavy downpour, rather continuous or torrential rain

Or a pour or pourer, really a pouring.³

Here Allah caused plants to grow for his grave,

¹Akhmaṣ an-na'l literally means 'hollow of the sole of the sandal'.

²As-sabab refers to the branch of the Islamic sciences commonly called asbāb an-nuzūl (occasions of revelation).

³The meaning of this line is unclear.

Of jasmin, lavender or shadhāb,¹
 Or its roses, sandalwood and carnations (or cloves)
 And (ba'ḍa) aromatic plants which were made more pleasant
 by the wind,
 Watered continuously, without end or period
 As long as the dārān are so near.²
 On the Day of Judgement, our Lord, include him in
 The body of those gathered into a trotting group;
 And shade him well (fī ḡillⁱⁿ ḡalīlⁱⁿ) on the day when there
 Is no shade except that which is under the partition.
 Then perfect for him a light when he ascends
 The path, with the dignity of Idrīs;³ and [if he is] thirsty
 On arrival at the pool of Aḥmad (Muḥammad) do not let him be
 Among those who are scattered when the doubters are scattered.
 Enter him (anzilhu) into Paradise with approval,
 O [You Who] gave Aḥmad a high place; and grant
 My request, O Answerer, with the dignity of him who
 Excelled mankind (al-barīyya), non-Arabs and even Arabs;
 And with the honor of aṣ-Ṣiddīq, his successor;
 And that of al-Fārūq, who seized the darab;⁴
 And with the rank (bi-ḥaqq) of Dhū n-Nūrain, then 'Alī,
 Lion of the Hāshimī detachment, Abū l-Harb;
 Folio IIB

And with the dignity of Talḥa, az-Zubair, Sa'd
 Then as-Sa'īd; they are those who refused escape;

¹Scattered pieces of tree bark, branches, twigs, etc.

²This translation is very uncertain. Dārān could refer to Heaven and Hell or the worlds of life and death. The phrase aḍ'āf al-qirab could literally mean 'many times the nearness' if one substitutes qirab for qurb. Qirab (sing. qirba) usually mean 'waterskins'.

³See G. Vajda, IDRĪS, EI², vol. III, pp. 1030-31.

⁴The entrance between two mountains.

And 'Ubaid /b. ar-/ Rahmān and 'Āsim, they follow;
 'Ā'isha and the daughter of Ibn al-Khattāb;
 And Mūsā then 'Isā after him;
 With the reverence (bi-jāh) of our Ka'ba which is inde-
 structable;
 With the respect (bi-jāh) of him who labbā,¹ circumambu-
 lated /the Ka'ba/ and zārahu;²
 And those who related Traditions and wrote /them/;
 And Adam and Eve who produced all mankind, nor surprisingly;
 And Ibrāhīm and his two sons /Ishmael and Isaac/;
 Then with the dignity of Jacob who tasted grief;
 And also Aaron and David;
 And with the dignity of Solomon who acquired plunder,
 And Mary then Āsiya who
 Attained praise descendent from /the/ Lord;
 And with the dignity of Hamza and 'Abbās whose
 Descendents (banūhu) achieved sovereignty everywhere.
 Increase, O Forgiver the One, his (Karamoko Muḥammad's)
 Reward abundantly with munificence and magnanimity.
 Make him the crown of splendor on the Day of Judgement,
 Among the highest attainers of salvation.
 Answer my prayer completely, O Creator,
 And include him (fa-ja'alahū) among the saved on the Day
 of Return
 With the exalted ones from the time of birth³ to
 /The/ day when creatures will stand for the Judgement;
 And /grant him/ the holiness (bi-jāh) of the Torah and like-
 wise the Gospels,
 The Psalms and the Furqān and all the scriptures;
 And the dignity of Abū Huraira and Muṣ'ab after him;
 And Bilāl, O my Lord, grant my supplication (ajāb);

¹That is, complied with the call to make the pilgrimage.

²That is, visited the tomb of Muḥammad in his mosque
at Madina.

³Literally "from the moment you willed".

And /ān- Nu'mān, Ahmad /b- Hanbal,
 Mālik /b. Anaṣ, and /āsh- Shāfi'ī the admirable;
 And Khadīja and Sawda after her;
 And with the rank of the awliyā';¹ he is the leader;²
 And Safīyya, Juwaira /sic./, Sakīna
 And /ma'a/ Fāṭima. The elegy (al-khiṭāb) is completed.
 Praise to Allah, the Merciful, the Forgiver
 Lord of all creation, even the animals.
 May the best blessings be upon Prophet Muḥammad,
 /His/ family and companions as long as (mā) it rains.

/It (the elegy) is completed and with peace (khair) dis-
 seminated ('ammat)./

/This copy was finished on Thursday evening, 10th Sha'bān./

/Sālih Jabaghatay b. al-Hājj Sulaimān, Jinānī (Jinini).
 I received it Monday, 19th Dhū l-Hijja 1382 A.H., the year
 13th March 1961 (sic.)/³

¹This could be a reference to the companions of Muḥammad, or holy men (saints).

²That is Karamoko Muḥammad.

³All the bracketed statements were written by different hands. The latter is that of al-Hājj 'Uthmān Boyo, Senior Research Assistant, Institute of African Studies, who acquired a copy of the manuscript from al-Hājj Sālih's grandson, Sālih Jabaghatay.

Of all the Ivoirian and Ghanaian Arabic manuscripts known to the writer this is the only commentary on a well known theological work. This is not to say that such works were not studied; the fact is that they were not only used for purposes of learning, but were also copied, distributed and sold to students and lettered laymen. However, it appears that few karamokos thought themselves proficient enough in Arabic and the Islamic sciences to expose themselves to potential embarrassment by their colleagues or an itinerant native Arabic-speaking person.¹ Karamoko Muhammad b. 'Uthmān belongs to this small group or western Sudanese 'ulamā'.

The following document is a commentary on the Risāla fī Ma'anī Kalimatai ash-Shahāda (also known as Umm al-

¹During my field research for the present study I asked a number of teachers whether they had written or published pieces in Arabic. With the exception of Imām al-Hājj Muhammad Qudus Timitay who studied two years at Al-Āzhar University and wrote Al-Jawāb ash-Shāfī 'an at-Tanāzu' al-Manāfī (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī and Sons, 1374/1955), not one of my seemingly well informed acquaintances answered affirmatively. When I queried my knowledgeable guide, al-Hājj 'Uthmān Boyo about this matter, he replied that the karamokos were afraid of being ridiculed by their peers, and that only a very small number of them would chance writing a letter in Arabic. He further stated that the relatively very learned, such as Imām Muhammad Marḥabā Saghanughu of Bobo Dioulasso, has had occasion to criticize the Arabic of some leading teachers in Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and elsewhere.

Bārāhīn)¹ of Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar as-Sanūsī. He was one of the North African Shurafā' by maternal descent from al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. abī Tālib. The author was an Ash'arī theologian of Tlemcen where he flourished and died in 895/1490; he also had some training in fiqh, logic, exegesis, astronomy and mathematics. However, as-Sanūsī's specialty was tawhīd, the subject of most of his more than twenty-five compositions (some of which are commentaries on earlier works by himself and others). His high regard for tawhīd is expressed in a saying attributed to him by one of his students: "The Most High does not transmit the knowledge of any of the external (zāhir) sciences except tawhīd which facilitates an understanding of all the other sciences; one's fear of the Most High is in direct proportion to his knowledge of tawhīd".²

In his commentary Karamoko Muḥammad calls himself an Ash'arī. We do not know the circumstances in which he became acquainted with the thought of Abū l-Hasan

¹Carl Brockelmann, GAL, Suppl. II, pp. 352-6; Mohamed Ben Cheneb, al-SANŪSĪ, EI¹, IV, p. 154; A.J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd.), pp. 275-6; M. Wolff, ed., El-Senusi's Begriffsentwicklung (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1848), pp. 1-10 (1-22); Aḥmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj bi-Taṭrīz ad-Dībāj in margin of Ibn Farḥūn's Kitāb ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab (Cairo: 'Abbās b. Shaqrūn, 1351 A.H.), pp. 325-9.

²Aḥmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj, p. 325.

ʿAlī b. Ismaʿīl al-Ashʿarī, or the extent of his knowledge of kalām. However, it seems clear that he had a deeper understanding of tawhīd and kalām than one could obtain from the eight pages of the Risāla. It is likely that he came into contact with Ashʿarī's thought during his travels and study in the Western Sudan, especially Timbuctu and Jenne.¹ Both of these centers were close to northern Africa where the Ashʿarīyya had gained ground during and after the activities of the Al-Muwahhidūn and Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), himself an exponent of tawhīd.

I was permitted to photograph this manuscript by Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā of Jinini who, to my knowledge, possesses the only extant copy of the work. It is twenty pages long and contains glosses in various hands on both sides of several sheets. Each page is approximately six by nine inches, of coarse high cotton content paper which does not have a visible watermark. The date 1297/1880 on the last page is in a different hand from that of the text; there are at least three different hands on the manuscript. The script is not uniform but a mixture of Sūdānī, Maghribī and Naskhī. The style of the composition is rajaz. There are many grammatical errors, cases of illegible penmanship and instances of poor Arabic usage; these may or may not

¹There are some similarities between his commentary and al-Ashʿarī's Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī l-Radd ʿalā Ahl az-Zaigh wa l-Bidʿ, tr. and ed. by Richard J. McCarthy, The Theology of al-Ashʿarī (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1952-3).

be attributable to the author. It is hoped that the following translation closely approximates the intention of the author.

Commentary on as-Sanūsī's Risāla

Page 1



تمت ودرج ادب شعر التنقي
 مراد به ووزع و تنقي به القطار و الصرايب شير تنقي
 بتا فضل العلوم محبظا علم الكتب و علم الدين اصلا
 و البغية و النحو و التصوف و اصول البغية و ما يتصرف في
^{عليه السلام} الحديث و علم اليسير ^{عليه السلام} و ما ليس و المقار في قسم
 و علم اللغة و علم الفقه ^{عليه السلام} و علم الحساب و علم الفقه ^{عليه السلام} و علم
 و علم التديع و علم البلاغة و علم الفقه و علم التديع
 و اشرفها علم التوحيد و هو و في الواحد المقبول
 و هو المسمى قها هنا و هو اسما في الدين عندنا
 فقده
 بد علم الفقه و علم التوحيد و علم الفقه و علم التوحيد

٤
 مَرَّاجِبٍ وَقَبَائِرٍ وَمُسْتَسِيلٍ ^{بلا يجوز} بِالْوَأْبِ مَا عَدَّهُ لَا يَحِيلُ
 وَالْمُسْتَسِيلُ مَا عَدَّهُ تَبَابُذٌ ^{بلا يجوز} كَمَا يَمَارِجُ الْجَمْرُ الْقَوْبُذُ
 وَالْجَانِزُ مَا يَصْحُ كَلَامُهُ فِيهِ ^{بلا كذب} وَجُودًا وَعَدًّا بِمَا أَهْوَيْهِ
 يَجِبُ شَرْعًا عَلَى الْمَكَلُولِ ^{بلا يجوز} عَمَّا كَانَ ذِي رُودًا ^{بلا يجوز} بِمَا أَهْوَيْهِ
 ٥. حَقُّهُ تَقَالُوبُهُ حَقُّ الرُّسُلِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَسَلَامُ الْمَأُولِ ^{بلا يجوز}
 وَصَلُّهُ عَدَّةٌ صَعْلَانَةٌ تَقَالُوبُ
 يَجِبُ بِهِ الرَّقْلُ وَالنَّفْلُ عَشْرُونَ ^{بلا يجوز} صَبَّةً لِلَّهِ تَقَالُوبُ بِالْقَالِيبِ
 وَالْأَوَّلُ الْوُجُودُ هِيَ نَفْسِيَّةٌ وَالْخَمْسَةُ بَقَرُهَا سَلْسِيَّةٌ
 وَهِيَ الرِّفْدَةُ وَالتَّبْقَاءُ وَالْمَخَالِفَةُ لِلتَّحَادُثَاتِ الْفَضَائِلِ الْمَكْرُومِ
 فِيهَا مَدَّةٌ تَقَالُوبُ بِبَقَرِهَا عَمَّا تَحِيلُ وَأَفْقُهُ ^{بلا يجوز} وَذَلِكَ

وواحد في ذاته تعالى وفي الصفات والأفعال يتلى
 وسبع المعاني والصفات قديمة في الله تعالى
 وهي القدرة والارادة والعلم والحياة والسعة والبصر والسمع
 والكلام وكونه تعالى قادرا وفريدا وعلما قديما قهارا ^{ظلم}
 وسميحا وبصيرا ومكتلما وهذا كعشر مبركة ^{أوجبا}
 تسبغ المبدأ بالتفصيل وعن المفقول ^{في} التعداد يقول
 بقدر في الآحاد
 واحد في عشرة وأيضاً فستعمل في كل مبرك
 وهي تعد في كل قدم والقدوم والعدوثة وهذا في القول
 والعدد في العمل والمخلص الباعل والآلة في المص
 والتعداد في الآلة والصفات وفي الآلة أيضاً قد تارة
 وتعد في كل مبرك والعدد والصفات والصفات والصفات

١. مانع عن الله تعالى

وَأَيْبُكُمْ وَكَفُونَهُ تَقَالِي عَاجِزًا وَكَدَرَهَا جَاهًا قَيْتًا حَاجِرًا
وَصَبًا وَمَعًا وَابْكًا وَأَضَادَ الْعَشِيرَةِ قَدْ تَقَا

بَصُلٌ فِي الْبَنِّ قَهْلُهُ وَالذَّلِيلُ

خُذُونَهُ الْقَرْيَةَ مَعَ الْأَجْرِاعِ ^{مبتدا} بَرَّهَا زُجُودَ قَالِئِ الْأَنْعَامِ

بَلَاءُ مَرْفُوعٍ كَيْفَ وَالشُّكُورُ ^{تبيين} مَعَ الْأَجْتِنَاعِ وَلَا يَفِيءُ أَوْ يَكُونُ

وَالْمَعْرُكَةُ مَرْوَالًا قَيْتًا أَوْ يَفِيءُ ^{تبيين} وَالْأَجْتِنَاعُ مَرْوَالًا شُكُورًا فِي بَنِيهِ

خُذُونَهَا ثَبُوتًا بِمَقَامِهِ قَرْضِيَّةً وَكَوْنُهَا لَا تَقْدَرُ عَنْهُ فَيَتَيَّنُ

تَوَارِدُهُ لَا أَوَّلَ لَهَا مُسْتَحِيلٌ كَفَرُهَا مَقْصُورُهَا بِطَائِلٍ

فِيهَا مَقَامُهَا بِبَقِيَّتِهَا فِي يَمِينِهِ ^{تبيين} أَلَا تَقَالِي بِذَلِكَ أَيْبُكُمْ

وَصَفَ الْقَدِيمَ بِالْجَدِّ وَنَاطِقَ كَوْنِهِ الْقَدِيمَ بِالْقَدِيمِ ^{تبيين} أَلَا تَقَالِي

وَدَيْلُ خُذُونَهُ الْأَجْتِنَاعُ ^{تبيين} فَيَا قَوْمَ الزَّيْنِ بِهِ فَلَا جَبَر

وَدَيْلُ خُذُونَهُ الْأَعْرَافُ ^{تبيين} مَشَاهِدُهُ تَقْدِيرُهُ أَلَا تَقَالِي

من يقر عذره إلى أن يوبد وموجود إلى أن يعدم ^{القبض} ~~القبض~~
 والجزء مما جتمع من قبضه ^{أو هو الجواهر} ~~أو هو الجواهر~~ ^{في غير عين} ~~في غير عين~~
 والقبض هو القبض ^{على ما يقع} ~~على ما يقع~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 باطل النظر والتفكير ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 يد لك ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 من القدر ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 وخلقهم ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 بقدر ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 في عين ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~
 في عين ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~ ^{في عين} ~~في عين~~

قَوْلِهِمْ قَدْ لَدِيَكَ الْفُلُ وَهُوَ عَلَيْهِمْ نَصْرٌ قَوْلُ الْقَوْلِ
 يُلْزِمُهُ أَبْوَابُ الْبَيْتِ لَمْ يَنْبَغِ عَنْكَ يَا صَاحِبَ الْإِيمَانِ
 وَأَمَّا نَزْهَانُ فَيُجَوِّدُ الْفَدَى لَمْ يَنْبَغِ الْجَمَالُ وَالْكَرَمُ
 فَلَا تَنْتَهِي تَوْسِيعُ تَبَوُّدِ الْقَدَمِ لَكَ تَكْرَارٌ فَتَشْمُ
 وَذَلِكَ يُوَدِّ الْأَثَرُ وَالْإِسْلَامُ وَهَذَا مَعْلَمٌ مُقْتَضٍ
 وَأَمَّا نَزْهَانُ فَيُجَوِّدُ الْفَدَى لَمْ يَنْبَغِ الْجَمَالُ وَالْكَرَمُ
 فَلَا تَنْتَهِي تَوْسِيعُ تَبَوُّدِ الْقَدَمِ لَكَ تَكْرَارٌ فَتَشْمُ
 كَيْفًا وَمَعْدُ وَتَبَوُّدُ الْفَدَى بِهَا الْقَوْلُ وَالْفُلُ قَوْلُهُمَا
 وَأَمَّا نَزْهَانُ فَيُجَوِّدُ الْفَدَى لَمْ يَنْبَغِ الْجَمَالُ وَالْكَرَمُ
 فَلَا تَنْتَهِي تَوْسِيعُ تَبَوُّدِ الْقَدَمِ لَكَ تَكْرَارٌ فَتَشْمُ
 كَيْفًا وَمَعْدُ وَتَبَوُّدُ الْفَدَى بِهَا الْقَوْلُ وَالْفُلُ قَوْلُهُمَا

وَأَمَّا نَزْهَانُ

وَابْتَرَأَ مِنْهُمُ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا "تَغْلِبُ أَعْمَالُنَا وَالْقِسْطُ مِنْ ذِيهِ"
 فَلَمَّا نَسُوا مَا وَعِدُوا بِالْعَمَلِ لَكَ مِنَ الصَّغَاةِ فَتُكَلِّمُ
 وَيَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّبِعُوا فِي الْفُلِكِ وَلَا يُلْزَمُ عَلَى الْبَشَرِ
 فِي مَوْتِهِمْ نَاجِلٌ وَعَسَىٰ يَسْأَلُكُمْ عَنْهُ يَوْمَئِذٍ يَقُولُ
 فَلَمَّا نَسُوا مَا وَعِدُوا بِالْعَمَلِ لَكَ مِنَ الصَّغَاةِ فَتُكَلِّمُ
 وَاتَّخَذُوا عَمَلَهُمْ لَهْوًا وَإِنْ يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْهُ نَذِيرٌ
 وَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فَيَسْأَلُهُمْ فِيهَا نَذِيرٌ وَيَسْأَلُهُمْ فِيهَا
 فَلَمَّا نَسُوا مَا وَعِدُوا بِالْعَمَلِ لَكَ مِنَ الصَّغَاةِ فَتُكَلِّمُ
 لَمَّا آمَنُوا بِيَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ مِنَ الْمَقَامَاتِ كَمَا يَنْشَأُ
 لِلزُّرُوعِ يَخْرُجُ مِنْهَا وَرَدُّهَا أَوْ فِجْرٌ مِنْهَا وَوَادِحٌ مِنْهَا
 عِنْدَ الرَّاغِبِينَ وَعِنْدَ الْبَاقِينَ الْوَجَابُ وَالْحَبَابُ بِرِجَالِهِمْ
 بِسْمِ الْفَرِيدِ الْفَقْدَانِ الْعِزُّ وَالْفَقْرُ عَلَيْهِمْ

فِي هَذِهِ الصُّورَةِ الثَّمَانِيَةِ فَيُسَمَّى فِي كِتَابِ الْبَيْتِ الشَّوْبَةِ
 مِفْتَاحُ الْأَبْوَابِ الْجَنَانِ الثَّمَانِيَةِ بِرَضَى الرَّحْمَنِ
 وَبِهَذِهِ الْبَيْتِ هَذَا أَرَأَيْتَ تَأْثِيرَ اللَّهِ فِي الْفَكْرِ
 وَلَا تَأْثِيرَ فُتْرَةِ الْحَاثِ الْأَصَحِّ فُتْرَةِ الْفَيْدِ الْبَاعِثِ
 عَلَيْهِ نِشَاءُ أَوْ يَفَافِ بِالْأَجْبَارِ لَا بِالْأَضْمَرِ لِرَبِّهِ
 وَكَأَنَّهُ وَاللَّهِ وَالشَّيْخِ بِعِ الْفَكْرِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ وَالشَّيْخِ
 وَكَأَنَّهُ أَوْ وَالْمَقْلُوعِ الْبَيْتِ وَقَدْ شَاءَ هَذَا مِنَ الْبَيْتِ
 وَكَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ وَكَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ وَكَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ الْفَكْرِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ
 فِي التَّرَجُّعِ عِنْدَ تَجَارَةِ الْفَكْرِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ وَمِنْ سَلَاةٍ وَمِنْ خَلْقِ الْبَيْتِ
 لَا يَكْفِيهِ وَلَا يَكْفِيهِ أَوْ عَمَّا لَمْ يَكْفِيهِ وَلَا يَكْفِيهِ
 بَلْ أَجْرُ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ الْفَكْرِ بِقَضَائِهِ وَبِقَضَائِهِ
 وَثَمَانِيَةِ الْفَكْرِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ

بِلَانِهِ لَوَاتِّجِي وَاحِدَةً مِنْ هَذِهِ لِحَاوَتِهِ فَوَجَدَهُ
 بِمَنْزِلِهِمْ أَتَفَانَهُمْ وَيَلِيْلُ عَنْ عِلْمِهِ وَيَرَادُهُ بِأَخْلِيلُ
 وَعَرَفْدَرِيهِ وَعَمْرِيَانَهُ هُوَ صِفَاتُ الشَّيْءِ مِنْ نَقْتِهِ
 بِمَنْزِلِهِمْ أَتَفَانَهُمْ وَالْبَصِي وَالْكَلَامُ لَذِي الْكَمَالِ وَلِذِي الْقُدْرَةِ
 بِلَانَهُ لَوَاتِّجِي وَاحِدَةً لَوْجِبَ الْأَيْصَافُ بِأَصْدَادِهِ
 وَهُوَ أَتَفَانَهُمْ وَالْبَصِي عَلَى اللَّهِ تَقَالِي كَأَشْرُوفِ قَارِصِ
 وَأَتَلِ أَرَأَيْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ وَتَكَلَّمَ اللَّهُ فَوَسَّيْ تَكْلِيمًا بِأَقْرَبِ

وَيَقُولُ لِيَوْمَئِذٍ أَتُكَلِّمُ الْغَافِلِينَ

وَيَقُولُ الْقُدْرَةُ وَالْإِرَادَةُ بِكُلِّ الْفَعْلَيْنِ فَذَلِكَ الْإِبَادَةُ

بِالْإِعَادَةِ وَالْإِعْدَامِ وَالْإِحْيَاءِ وَالْمَوْتِ بِالْمَكْرِ وَالزَّغْفَرِ بِالْإِسْخَارِ

وَبِالْوُجُودِ وَالْغَيْبِ وَالْبَقْعِ وَالْمَقْدَرِ فَخُصُوصَةً مُخْتَلِفَةً

وَيَقُولُ الْقَلَمُ مَعَ الظَّالِمِ بِالْإِنْكَشَافِ وَالْإِلَهِيَّةِ بِأَعْلَانِهِ

فَذَعَمْنَا بِأَعْظَمِ الْقَوْلِ مَرَّ وَاجِبٍ وَجَائِزٍ وَمُسْتَجِيلٍ

وَيَقُولُ الشَّفَعُ مَعَ الْبَصَرِ بِكُلِّ مَوْجُودٍ قَبْلَ الْخَلْقِ

وَيَقُولُ الْحَيَاةُ لِمَا تَهْتَفُ سُرَّةُ لَيْلٍ الْهَيَاتِ

فَصَر

[illegible]

وَبَقَلْنَاهَا مَعَ مُوسَى إِذْ أَخْرَجْنَاهُ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ وَقَوْمُ
 يَكْبَرُ سَبْقَةً وَمُوسَى وَمِائَةُ بَعْدَ مَا هُوَ يَكُونُ
 كَرَامًا يَسْبِقُهَا وَمِائَةُ بَعْدَ مَا هُوَ يَكُونُ
 يَحِبُّ أَيْضًا هَذَا الْعَشِيرُ وَفِيهِ وَفِيهِ يَتَّبِعُونَ
 عَلَيْهِ تَوَاتُّرًا وَاحِدَةً فَرَّقَهُ لِقَاءُ وَجْهِ اللَّهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ
 يَكُونُ تَتَّبِعُ عَنْ قَوْلِهِمْ الْقَوْلُ وَسَوَاءٌ الدَّلِيلُ بِالْإِثْبَاتِ
 فَتَوَاتُّرًا يَتَّبِعُونَ

بِقَوْلِ الْمُتَكَلِّمِينَ كُلِّهَا جَاءَ رُفُوفُهُ تَقَالِي كَثْرَتُهُ
 مَا وَجِبَ عَلَيْهِ وَلَا فَتَحَ كَمَا تَحْكُمُ الْإِذْ شَرَعُوا صَالًا
 بِدَا حَتَّى جَاءَ بِهِ وَلَا غَرَرُ لِنَفْسِهِ أَوْ لِقَوْلِهِ يَتَّبِعُونَ
 وَهُوَ

وَمَنْ رَوَيْتَهُ لَاهِلِ الشُّعْرِ ۚ دَارُ الْعُلَى وَدَارُ الْمَاوِي
 بِشِيرَ كَيْفٍ وَلَا تَحِيلاً وَلَا بِغَيْرِ وَدٍ بِأَعْقَالِ
 بِدِيلٍ وَجُودٍ يَوْصِيهِ نَاصِرٌ ۚ الرِّبْعُ نَاصِرٌ وَبِشِيرَةٍ
 وَاحِدَةٍ سَتُرَوَّرُ بِكُمْ بِغَيْرِ تَرْخُمٍ وَلَا تَنَاقُصٍ لِيَعْلَمَ
 وَحْدَهُ بَعَثَهُ الرِّسَالَا ۚ مَعَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ الْفَخْرُ لَا
 مَعَ مَلَكٍ مِّنْهُمْ شَرِيحٌ مَّعَ أَكْرَمِ الشُّعْرِ بِالْكَرَامَاتِ لَعَلَّ
 بِالْفَضْلِ مَنَّهُ وَيَا لَافْتِيَارٍ ۚ لَأَنَّهُ لَفَتْ زَوَانِجِمَارٍ هُوَ
 هُوَ فَيَا عَيْنَا لَعَلَّ وَمَا نَسْتَعِيذُكَ بِرَأْسِهِ
 عَيْنٌ ۚ لَعَلَّ وَتَسْتَعِيذُكَ
 عَيْنٌ لَعَلَّ الْيَقْدُ وَالْأَمَانَةُ وَتَسْتَعِيذُكَ مَا لَعَلَّ وَالشُّعْرُ
 وَيَسْتَعِيذُكَ الْكَذِبُ وَالْخِيَانَةُ وَكَمَا لَعَلَّ مَوْرِدُ الْبَاقَةِ
 وَيَسْتَعِيذُكَ مَا لَعَلَّ لَيْسَ كَذِبٌ ۚ الْخَلَاءُ وَالشُّعْرُ

من الأكل والشرب والتمتع واليسع والشرع مما يشاء
 وكان ملك السلطنة والفهم بغير ضياء ولا سحر ولا سحر
 وكان مرض الشفي وكصدام وأغير وأحمى بالإجماع
 وكان عميد وأنجوم وأيقظ ونهر من القدر إلى دار النجى
 بدليل أنه إمامنا لك إلى من خير فينا ربه لك
 ولا تكلم من ربه أدنى أدنى بل مقامه في هذا السن
 وذكر تسليمة كنع أو الشريعة وتبين عر دينا غير بيع
 وأما دليل وجوب صدقهم فبأنهم لو لم يصدقوا به فلو
 للزم الكذب وخبر من أرسلهم إلى طاعة به أشهر
 انقضاهم لهم بالخبر كذا زلة فزلة قوله المنجى
 صدق وعبد، وطاق جاء به معلما ومكلما
 والكذب

وَاتَّخَذُوا آلَهُ الْغَيْبِ شُرَكَاءَ لِلَّهِ أَتَدْرِكُونَ
 قُلْ أَدْبَارُ شَيْءٍ مُّذِيبٌ لِّأَعْمَالِهِمْ عَلَيْهِمْ السَّلَافُ وَالْآخِرَةُ
 لَوْ ضَلُّوا فِي الْمَعْرُومِ أَتَدْرِكُونَ الْمَكْرُوهَ الْغَيْرُ
 لَا تَقْبَلُوا طَاعَةً لَهُمْ ^{لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ} لِيُؤْمِنُوا بِآيَاتِهِ وَيَهْتَمُّ
 ٢٠ / قَوْلَهُمْ قَوْلًا مِّمَّا هُمْ قَالُوا اللَّهُ لَا يَأْمُرُ بِالْفَحْشَاءِ بُدِّعُوا
 كُلِّ لَوْ أَنَّهُمْ مَقْصُودٌ مِّنْ عَمَلٍ يُجْزَى وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِكُلِّ فَا هُوَ تَوَدُّونَ
 وَجُوبٌ عَلَيْهِمْ قَوْلًا لَّا يَأْمُرُ بِكُفْرٍ وَلَا فُجْورٍ
 لَّمَّا كَانُوا أَنْبَاءَ رُسُلِهِمْ وَلَمَّا كَانُوا أَعْلَافًا وَحَى إِلَيْهِمْ أَقْنَاءُ
 وَدَلَّكَ يُودَى إِلَى تَقْيِيلِ الشَّعْرِ وَلَا تَعْرِفُ الْهَدَى وَلَا الْقَفْصِ
 كَيْفَ وَالشَّيْءُ فَدَبَّلَ كُلَّمَا أَمْرُهُ تَبْلِيغًا مُّطَقَّعًا
 حَتَّى نَزَلَ أَكْفَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ دِينَكُمْ دِينُ الْقَوْمِ وَالْإِسْلَامُ دُونَكُمْ وَنُكْمُ
 عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ ثُمَّ مَا أَكْفَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ دُونَهُمْ

وَكَيْسُ جَوْنِ الْأَعْرَابِ عَنِ هَجِّ الصَّلَاحِ وَالسَّلَامِ بِلَا يَضُرُّ
 قِبَالَهُمْ مَعْدَةً وَالسَّوَابِ مِنَ السَّلَفِ لَمْ يَخَفْ إِلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ يَخْرُجُ
 وَمَا قَوْلُ اللَّهِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ فِي مَقْعَدِ رُسُلِهِ هَذَا
 قَبْدَ حُلَّةٍ قَوْلَ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ جَمِيعُ الْكَمَالَاتِ بِإِسْمِهِ
 وَمَا بِهِ الْقَوْلُ قَدْ حَكَمَ اللَّهُ مَا وَاجِبٌ وَعَمَلٌ فَذَلِكَ
 وَكُلُّ مَا يُنَوِّزُ لَهُ نَقْلٌ مِنْ كُلِّ الْجَبَابِ رَحْمَةً بِسَائِلِ
 وَأَمَّا حَقُّ رُسُلِهِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِإِسْمِهِ
 قَبْدَ حُلَّةٍ بِإِسْمِهِ لَا يَنْفَعُ الْبَطْلُ لِمَنْ سَبَّ رُسُلَهُ
 وَمَنْ بَعَثَهُ الرُّسُلَ مَعَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَتَقَارِبَ الْحَقِيقِ
 وَالْكِبَرِ الْفَتْرَةَ السَّمَاوِيَّةَ وَالسَّيْفِ وَالشُّجْرَ الْفَرْقِيقِ
 وَمَنْ قَرَأَ اللَّهُ الْبَقِيَّةَ فِي السَّيْرِ وَالْأَمَلِ وَالْأَمَلِ
 وَكُلُّ مَا خَرِبَ بِهِ الْخَطَرُ مِنَ الصَّقِيَّةِ فِي الْأَمَلِ

وَكُلُّ مَا يُنَوِّزُ لَهُ نَقْلٌ
 مِنْ كُلِّ الْجَبَابِ رَحْمَةً
 بِسَائِلِ

[illegible]

حِينَ لَا ادْفَعُ وَلَا قَوْلَ وَلَا مَرْسَلًا أَيْسَاءَ
وَلَا جَبِيلَ وَلَا مَكِيلَ وَلَا سَرَامِيلَ وَلَا عَزْرَ وَلَا
الْثَلَاثَةَ وَالسَّلَاحَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَعَلَيْهِمْ عَاهُ سَبَبُ وَجُوهِهِمْ وَشَبَابُهُمْ

خَاتَمَةٌ

لَا اَكْرَهُكُمْ قَصِيلَةً كَثِيرَةً ذَكَرَهَا اللَّهُ وَتَبَرَّاهُ مَنْشُورَةً
فَذَكَرَ يَقُولُ كَمَا زَالَ اَكْرَهُكُمْ تَبَقُّدُ الْقَوْمِ خَيْرٌ قَلِيلًا صِرَافِي
تَذَكُّرُهَا مَقْنَى مُخَضَّرًا يَصِيرُ بِهِ فَلْيَا كَثِيرًا فِي الْآخِرَةِ
ذَكَرَهَا دَوْرًا قَوْلًا بَا يَصِيرُ فِي الْأَوَّلِ مُصَاحِبًا
وَمَنْعُهُ مَرِيضًا بِهِ فِي الْأَوَّلِ وَمَنْعُهُ يَصِيرُ بِهِ عَلَى الْقَلْبِ بِقِيَمَةٍ
وَمَنْعُهُ يَصِيرُ بِهِ دِيَارًا وَجُوهًا وَيَكْتُمُ بِهِ مَوَازِدَ قَدْ عَمَّرَ
وَمَنْعُهُ مَرِيضًا بِهِ مَسَاجِدَ بَعِيدَةً فِي سَاعَةِ قَلِيلَةٍ يَصِيرُ بِهِ
ذَكَرَهَا دَوْرًا مَقْنَى مَرِيضًا يَصِيرُ بِهِ فَوْرًا فِي الْقَلْبِ
أَنْزَلَهَا دَوْرًا وَذَكَرَهَا بِقِيَمَتِهِ عَمَّرَ
ذَكَرَهَا دَوْرًا مَقْنَى مَرِيضًا يَصِيرُ بِهِ
يَقُولُ دَوْرًا مَقْنَى مَرِيضًا

عند حياتنا وعند وفاتنا وعند الجوارح وفيها طر من قنا
وهذا سلم الفروفي به الدار السليم خير المبعث
أجبت هاتيك مع الرحيم وسبناك أنت الكريم وفيها الرحيم
أجبت هاتيك مع خرا كبريا في يوم الجزاء ويوم القصاص
الله على كل شيء عليم هو قبلة لوجود كل مفكر
والله وحيد وحده الباقين بصفته ونصرت
أفدته وأنشكره شكر هزيل لنوابه وخيرا به

Page 1

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate;
may Allah bless our master Muḥammad, His prophet, and
his family and companions, and grant him approval, and
from Him we ask aid. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Mālikī
al-Ash'arī at-Tijānī said:

I praise Allah the One Who has no need
For an offspring and a parent, Who is independent
Of a likeness, equal, contrast
And of an example, peer and a partner.
Everything except Him is in need of Him,
The Creator and Originator of everything.
So extol: there is nothing like Him;
He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing, the Creator!
Then blessings and peace upon
The best of creatures, Ahmad, the missioned,
And his family and first companions;
The mark of prostration is apparent in their faces.
Now then: knowledge ('ilm) is the best thing with
Which a person can be adorned and affiliated;

Page 2

Such as⁷ etiquette (adab), piety and fear
Of Him to ever increasing heights and ranks.
The more preferable of the sciences ('ulūm) ...¹ are
Knowledge of the Book, for knowledge of religion is basic,
And jurisprudence, grammar, Sufism,
The roots of jurisprudence, what is declinable [morphology],
Traditions, the campaigns [of Prophet Muḥammad],
What is explanatory of rhetoric and allegory;
Philology and prosody,
Arithmetic and the laws of inheritance,
Linguistic style, and eloquence

¹The word in the text is illegible.

And the other common and secondary sciences.

But (wa) the most sublime is the science of unity (tawhīd)
Which is the quality of the One, the Worshipped.

It is the subject (al-mar'ī) here,

And the foundation of religion in our opinion.

Introduction¹

Rational opinion is restricted

And gathered into three categories:

Page 3

Obligatory, permissible and absurd.²

Now the obligatory is that whose non-being is inconceivable;

The absurd is that whose non-being persists,³

Like the faith of Abū l-Jamr al-Mubad;

And the permissible is that whose two extremes are conceivable,

Existence and nonexistence, without misrepresentation.

A legally responsible person (mukallaf) is required

To know these and that,⁴ without deviating

From (fī) the reality of the Most High and the prophets,

May the blessings and peace of the First be upon them.

Section on the Number of His Attributes

Reason and tradition require twenty

¹From here the text proceeds in a manner similar to that of the Risāla.

²As-Sunūsī (p. 2) used the terms wujūb, istihāla and jawāz.

³According to as-Sanūsī (p. 2), it is "that whose existence is inconceivable."

⁴That is, the obligatory, absurd and the permissible.

Attributes to Allah, the Most High, Lord of the worlds.
 The first is existence, which pertains to His Being (naḥsīyya)
 And the following five are passive (salbīyya);
 They are pre-existence, eternity and His being different
 From things created;
 His being independent
 Of place and a partner in His essence (dhātihi).

Page 4

He is one in His essence,
 And therefore in His attributes and acts.
 Seven of the qualities are abstract (ma'naḥīyya),
 Supported by His exalted essence;
 They are omnipotence, volition, knowledge,
 Life, hearing, sight and certainly including
 Speech; and His, the Most High, being omnipotent
 Willing, knowing and living makes Him competent,
 And capable of hearing, seeing and speech.
 These are definitely twenty attributes
 Followed by conceivable ta'aqqul attributes,
 Equal in number but false (yu'wal).

Section on the Contraries

The opposite attributes are also twenty,
But absurd with regard to the Most High, unacceptable.
 They are nonexistence, becoming nonexistent,
 Created, resemblance to something created,
 Requirement of a place, and partner.
 That is, He required a perpetrator and a being, so reply!
 The diversity of contraries in His essence, qualities
 And deeds will now follow:
 Plurality, incapacity, dislike,¹ ignorance

¹That is, that Allah creates something to which He
 is averse.

Death, deafness, blindness and so forth,

Page 5

And dumbness; the Most High's being incapable,
Averse, ignorant, dead is rejected (hājiz^{an})
And deaf, blind and dumb.

This completes the twenty inconceivable attributes.

Section on Proof and Evidence

The creation of accidents (ʿarad) with bodies (ajrām)¹
Is proof of the existence of the creator of mankind.
Accident is motion and rest,²
With there being meeting and separation;
Motion is precisely separation,
And meeting is the same as rest.
Its /motion's/ occurrence is evidenced by it /rest/ by
consent,
And its existence is clearly inseparable from it.
Their concealment of their appearance is deceptive;
Their self-perpetrated existence is false;
Their self-induced movement is preposterous.
To describe the Eternal as created is atrocious;
To describe the nonexistent as pre-existent is more repulsive.

¹For more discussion on ʿarad and jism, see Abū
l-Hasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī (ed. by Muḥammad
Muḥyī d-Dīn ʿAbd al-Hamīd) Maqālāt al-Islāmīyyīn wa
Ikhtilāf al-Musallīn (2 vols. in one; Cairo: Maktabat
an-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīyya, 1369/1950), vol. II; Abū Muḥammad
ʿAlī b. Hazm az-Zāhirī, Al-Faṣl fī l-Milal wa l-Aḥwāʾ
wa n-Niḥāl (5 vols. in one; Cairo: Al-Khanjī, 1321 A.H.)
vol. V, pp. 66-92; F. Rahman, ʿARAD, EI², vol. I, p. 603;
T.J. de Boer, DJISM, EI², vol. II, pp. 553-5.

²See R. Arnaldez, HARAKA wa-SUKŪN, EI², vol. III,
pp. 169-172.

The proof of the createdness of bodies (ajsām)
 Is certainly the occurrence of growth in them;
 And the proof of the createdness of accidents
 Is the witnessing of their necessary change.

Page 6

From nonexistence to existence
 And from existence to nonexistence.
 A body is that which is composed of two substances (jawharain)
 Or more, without a lie.
 And substance is single specie
 Which strictly excludes division.
 So look closely and contemplate deeply
 The study of the creation of the various cosmi;
 It will lead you to the knowledge of the Master
 Of everything, Creator and Destroyer,
 From the Throne to the foundation of the earth,
 And of all things the Vanquisher and the Effector.
 Their self-createdness is absurd,
 And creation without them is unimaginable (ta'ānut).
 So these are seven of the questions
 And to each is universal excellence and a causative factor.¹
 With it you can swim a sea of which Allah fears
 For His servants, the 'ulamā'; so do not forget Him.
 And with it you may be rescued from those in the depth of the
 sea
 And in darkness, the clouds and waves.

Page 7

To reside in the Upper Paradise,
 The highest heaven with the approval of the Master of masters,
 [Thus] closing the gates of Hell,
 The seven, to you, O faithful.
 As for the proof of the necessity of the pre-existence

¹This and the following four lines are difficult to understand; this translation is extremely conjectural.

Of our Lord, the Sublime the Generous,
 Had His existence been preceded by nonexistence,
 He would certainly have been a destructable creature,
 And that leads to circulus vitiosus
 Which is impossible and reproachable.
 As for the proof of the necessity of the eternity
 Of the One whose sovereignty is continuous, without cessation,
 If nonexistence could befall His existence,
 He would not have been attributed with pre-existence and
 antecedence.
 How, when their attribution to Him is necessitated by
 Reason, tradition and understanding?
 As for the proof of the necessity of His difference,
 Who is above resemblance and space, independent,
 If He resembled created things,
 He would be like them and temporary as they are;
 He would require whatever they require.
 How can He, exalted is His majesty, resemble them?

Page 8

As for the proof of the necessity of His existence,
 The Most High, independent of space and a partner in His
 essence,
 Had He occupied space,
 Surely one of the attributes would be the occupier of space.
 But an attribute is not described by meanings,
 Nor by the requisites of demonstration.
 Our Lord, the Great, the Mighty,
 Must be described by these two, not by an imputed quality;
 Because if He needed a second,
 Surely the Most High would be, like creatures, limited;
 And createdness with respect to Allah is inadmissible.
 Due to what you know about His two aforementioned attributes.¹
 As for the proof of the necessity of unity

¹Pre-Existent and Eternal.

Of Him Who is singularly and uniquely distinguished by
 divinity,
 If He has a partner
 In His divinity, then consider the following (fa-khudh bayān):
 He could not have created a thing
 Of the possibilities whenever He wished
 Due to the incapacity of both or one of them,
 Or the subjection of both or one of them; so know,
 When confronted by disagreement and agreement,
 The obligatory and the permissible, and approve them!
 Praise to al-murīd¹ the Efficacious;
 Incapacity and subjection with respect to Him are impossible.

Page 9

So these eight pages (ṣuwar) are
 Shown in the book of Shaikh as-Sanūsī,
 Key to the eight doors
 Of the Heart with the consent of the Merciful.²
 And with this proof it becomes clear
 That ascription of a quality to a thing has no effect on it;
 And there is no effect upon the power of the created
 Except from the omnipotence of the Eternal, the Revivifier.
 He rewards or punishes it the created
 Of His own choice, not out of compulsion.
 Like water, fire and a knife,
 Relative to cutting, irrigating and heating,
 And like burning and food in relation to satisfying hunger
 And what is similar to these in nature;
 And like Sagitta and Hyades,

¹This word, which usually applies to an aspirant in a Sūfī order, seems to be erroneously included in the text; apparently the correct word referred to Allah.

²This seems to be the title of as-Sanūsī's work on which Karamoko Muhammad wrote this commentary; however, I did not find this title in Brockelmann's GAL.

And sa'd as-su'ūd, and al-kharāsān¹

In trade with respect to profit and loss;

And safety and erring due to Allah's abandoning.

These are not due to (bi) a peculiarity or a power
Created (awda'a) in them by Allah and not because of a deficiency;

Rather Allah executes one decree after ('inda) another;
Because of (bi) His excellence and justice He is able.

As for the proof of the necessity of omnipotence
Knowledge, life and will,

Page 10

If one of these attributes were denied,
Then surely there would not exist a creator.

The manifestation of their perfection is evidence
Of His knowledge and will, O friend,
And of His omnipotence and life.

There are the effective attributes of His descriptive names.
As for the proof of the necessity of hearing, sight and
Speech being possessed by the Perfect, the Patient,
Had He not been attributed with them,

Surely He would have been attributed with contrary qualities
Which are defects, and the imputation of imperfections
To Allah, the Most High, is forbidden and remote.

So read: Surely Allah is the All-Hearing and All-Seeing,
And Allah spoke to Moses with mastery over speech.

Page 11

Section on the Relationship of the Attributes

Omnipotence and will are related

¹These seem to be astronomical terms applied to a group of stars; see E.W. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, (8 vols.; London: William and Norgate, 1867), Book I, Part 4, p. 1361.

To all the possibilities. Take notice
 Of creation and destruction, and designation
 Of place and time [which are] determined
 By existence, quality, area
 And quantity, special [and] chosen;
 And knowledge is related to speech,
 As speech is a manifestation and sign of knowledge, O savant.
 Rational opinion classifies them
 Into obligatory, permissible and absurd,
 And hearing is related to sight
 By all things existent, so do not be a Determinist.¹
 Nothing is so related to life
 Because it is a precondition for all the attributes.

Page 12

Section on the Allegory of the Most High's Attributes

Scholastic theology pertains to speech (lisānī), the heart,
 Expression, proof and conclusion.
 Its conclusion is from a problem and
 The multiplier and multiplicand² are connected.
 So the multiplication of the negative by the positive³
 Renders the same product
 Eternally; and the continuation of the negative

¹Tatajabbar. See, Shahrastānī, Al-Milal wa n-Niḥal,
 in Ibn Hazm, vol. I, pp. 108-9; W.M. Watt, Free Will and
 Predestination in Early Islam (London: Luzac, 1948), pp.
 96-9; idem, DJABRIYYA, EI², vol. II, p. 365.

²Ma'mūl as-sughrā and al-kubrā may be understood as
 the minor and major premises of a syllogism, or the
 multiplier and multiplicand in arithmetic.

³Nafsiyya

Makes their result yawyah.¹

The negative and the positive are opposites
Which produce no result (bi-fadfud or fadfad).
Three times three is surely permissible;
Their result is nine.²

Page 13

This total (jumlatuhā) with fifty [added] to the essence of
Who
Has counted everything plus (wa) ninety-eight³
Equal (yaṣīr) fifty-seven
And one hundred after one hundred.⁴
Add and memorize them here,⁵
There your answer (hisābuka) will be (taṣīr) ninety-five.⁶
Also to these twenty must [be added]
Necessity and permanency with demonstration,
For if one of these were denied
Then surely there would not exist anything created
As He would have been produced from cogent evidence
And positively clear proof.

¹This does not appear to be an Arabic word; it may be a Dyula or other colloquialism. My Dyula informants were unfamiliar with it. Even if the letters represent numbers, which is common in Sudanic Arabic writings, the number would be thirty-one which seems insignificant in this context.

²The total of hā' (five) and dāl (four).

³The total of hā' (eight), mīm (forty) and nūn (fifty).

⁴That is, one hundred and fifty-seven.

⁵Kun lahā ḥāsib^{an} wa ḥāfiz^{an}.

⁶The total of mīm (forty), hā' (five) and nūn; presumably the ending alif was added to rhyme with hunā.

Section on the Permissibles

The performance of all possibilities
Is permissible with respect to the Most High, like its omission.

He is subject to neither obligation nor absurdity;
Like a decree which He prescribed then (wa) abrogated,
Having neither need for nor interest (gharaḍ) in it
For Himself or His performance necessarily (yuftarid).

Page 14

He will grant His vision (ru'yatuhu) to the pious
In the Hereafter (dār al-ʿulā wa dār al-maʿwā),
Without 'how' and not through imagination,
And not with the eye or eye-ball.¹

The proof is that 'On that day radiant faces
Will observe their Lord'² happily,
And the Tradition 'You shall see your Lord
Without jostles or competition between you'.
From Him is the missioning of messengers
And (maʿa) prophets and descending angels
With their miracles (muʿjizāt) and laws;
And his paying deference to them with miracles (karamāt)
And (bi) His grace and choice,
Because He is the Almighty, the Omnipotent.

Section on what is Obligatory, Absurd and Permissible with Respect to the /Prophets/, Blessings and Peace be upon them

Truthfulness and integrity are obligatory upon them,
And the transmission of what they were ordered to make known;
Deceit and treachery are impossible for them,

¹Cf. Al-Ashʿarī, Al-Lumaʿ, pp. 32-6.

²Qurʾān 75:22-3.

And the concealment of what they were ordered to disseminate.

What is permissible for ordinary men is permissible for them,
Upon them, the excellent ones, be blessings and peace:

Page 15

Of food, drink and marriage,
And selling and buying what is lawful;
And like sovereignty, rulership and subjugation,
Without sexual intercourse, ridicule or vainglory;
And like slight sickness, such as headache,
Eye [ailment] and fever, according to consensus;
And like thirst, hunger and poverty,
And fleeing from the enemy to Madina (Dār al-Hujri).

The proof is 'my Lord, surely I am in need of
Whatever good You might send down to me'.¹

This does not lower their rank in the least,
But it is of those things which make it more exalted,
And that is strength or legislative power (tashrī) to them,
And an escape from the wretched world, so be heedful!

As for the proof of the necessity of their truthfulness,
Had they been untruthful in their utterances,
Surely that would have necessitated falsity in the message
of Him

Who sent them to mankind, and upon Him I rely
For His support of them with miracles
Descending in the rank of His miraculous speech.
His servant was truthful in everything
Which he brought as a teacher and a spokesman.

Page 16

And that they lied on Allah, the Most High, is absurd

¹Qur'ān 28:24. In the interest of clarity I chose to translate the verse as it is in the Qur'ān, and to omit the final anta (you) in the above text which is added to rhyme with nazalta (You sent down).

Due to their manifest truthfulness in every era.
 As for the proof of the necessity of their integrity,
 Upon them be blessings and peace,
 Had they been treacherous by committing the forbidden
 The prohibited, the reprehensible and the sinful,
 Surely these would have been changed to obedience,
 Because Allah ordered us to emulate them
 In their sayings and their deeds;
 For Allah does not command the abominable, so imitate them
 Because they are infallible with respect to sin,
 And they obey every order.¹
 As for the proof of the necessity [̄authenticitȳ] of what
 they conveyed,
 Had they concealed it or refrained from conveying it,
 Surely they would not have been prophets [̄and̄] messengers,
 And untrustworthy with what was revealed to them.
 That would cause an interruption of revelation,
 And we would not know the true religion or path.
 How, when the prophet certainly conveyed all that
 He was ordered to convey, completely?
 Even it was revealed 'I have perfected your religion for
 you',²
 The true religion and path, so take it!
 May blessings and peace upon him [̄Muhammad̄] increase
 As long as the world is between existence and nonexistence.

Page 17

As for the proof of the necessity of accidents,
 Upon them be an abundance of blessings and peace,
 It is by observation and continuance
 From the predecessors to the descendants and so forth.
 As for the statement 'there is no god but Allah

¹The word mawjūr is almost definitely a copyist mistake for mawjūb (order, injunction, moral obligation).

²sic., Qur'ān 5:3.

And (ma'a) Muhammad is the messenger of Allah', here you are:
Included in the statement 'there is no god but Allah'
Are all perfections without end.

And what has an intellect has ascribed
To Allah the obligatory and the absurd;
Everything which is permissible is for Him, the Most High,
Permissible and is marked 'certainly'!

As for 'Muhammad is the messenger of Allah',
May Allah bless him forever,
Included in it is our faith in the Pre-Existent One,
The Eternal Who was not preceeded by nonexistence,
And from Him is the missioning of messengers,
Prophets and angels, the perfect ones,
And divinely revealed scriptures (kutub)
In books (sifr) and numbered lines.

From Him is His unique Qur'an
Which contains miraculous rhetoric and meanings,
And all that the chosen one /Muḥammad/ was told
Pertaining to the divine secrets of the afterlife:

Page 18

The trial of the grave, its iniquity and anguish;
The questioning by the two angels, its fright and fear;
The Resurrection of the body itself,
And only it, according to concensus, so listen well!
The receipt of the account, the good deeds and the fire;
And mālik¹, Paradise and acceptance;
The path, gentle (muraaffaq) and determined;
Poetry and scripture (sifr), even from India, agree (ayyid)!
Intercession on behalf of the disobedient believers;
Raising the ranks of the infallible ones;
Removing the chastisement from his uncle Abū Talib

¹The meaning of this word in this context is uncertain;
perhaps it refers to Imām Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the
author's madhhab.

To a shallow part of Hell, because of his /Muhammad/ rank,
 O friend;
 His great pool (hawduhu l-kawthar)
 Of clear, delicious and feted water,
 From which impurities (al-mubdil wa l-mughayyir) are removed
 Of Judaism, Christianity and unbelief,¹
 And with interruption, exploitation and obstruction,
 Seclusion, misguidance and deception.
 O Allah, make us live according to the Sunna of al-Mustafā
 (Muhammad),
 And cause us to die according to it, faithful and sincere,
 With some seventy sects,
 Like the odor between dispersion and pure blood,²
 With the dignity of him for whom the moon was cloven,
 With attestation, approval and victory,
 And of him who was chosen for the prophetic rank,
 And included in his prophetic overflow.
 He was a prophet knowledgable about his prophethood,
 And a messenger knowledgable about his message,

Page 19

Whereas neither Adam nor Eve
 Was a messenger or prophet,
 Neither Gabriel nor Michael,
 Neither Isrāfīl nor Azrael,
 Blessings and peace be upon him and them.
 This is the reason for their existence and /that of/ their
 master.³

¹Bi ta'ahhudⁱⁿ /sic./ wa tanassurⁱⁿ wa takaffurⁱⁿ.

²This appears to be an allegorical statement (tashbīh),
 but the meaning is somewhat unclear.

³The author probably meant that each of the above had
 a special reason for his existence, and that Muhammad holds
 a relatively higher rank.

Epilogue

To the memorizer of it¹ (dhakiruhā) is a great merit;
 Allah mentioned it in His disseminated revelation,
 In His statement 'Surely exhortation
 Benefits the Believers',² undoubtedly.
Dhākiruhā ma'n^{an} muḥdar^{an3}
 With it he will gain entry to (taṣīr bihi) the vast kingdom
 in the Hereafter.
 He who always remembers it like flowing water (muwāzib^{an})
 Joins (yaṣīr) the company of the saints,
 Some of whom will fly with him in the air,
 And some will walk with him on the waters, and he will be
 seen;
 Some engrave it on a dīnār and a gem,
 And inlay with it destroyed (or broken) tables;⁴
 And some of them travel far in a few hours.
 He who remembers it will have continuous success;
 His affairs will become easy.
 O Allah bless us with continuous memory of it;
 We murmur it and cry it aloud.
 He who remembers it is always happy,
 His sins will be forgiven (ghāṣūl^{an})

Page 20

During our his lifetime and at our his death,
 At the time of Judgment and Resurrection from our graves.
 For this is the ladder of the ascender
 To the Abode of Peace, the best aspired goal;

¹It is unclear to what 'it' (hā) refers.

²Qur'an 51:55

³This line is unintelligible.

⁴It is assumed that the author meant yuta'im; however,
 the verse is allegorical.

With it I seek refuge in You against the cursed.
 Praised are You, the Generous and the Merciful
 Consider this in my favor (mudkhar^{an} karīm^{an})
 On the Day of Recompence and Judgment.
 O Allah, bless and grant salvation to him
 Who is the key to the existence of every possibility,
 To his family, companions and party
 The victorious ones with his companionship and aid.
 I praise and thank Him
 Profusely for His recompence and rewards.

Praise to Allah the Lord of the worlds. O Allah, forgive
 us, our parents and all the Muslims and Believers, those
 alive and those who are dead. Surely You are the All-
 Powerful.

/There is no god but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of
 Allah, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him.
 The year 1307 A.H. (zain, dād, rā, shīn), 8th Ramaḍān 1297?¹

¹These lines were probably added by a later hand.
 It is not clear to what either date refers.

CHAPTER VI

THE WRITINGS OF AL-ḤĀJJ ṢĀLIḤ AND AL-ḤĀJJ MUḤAMMAD SA'ĪD JATAGAKIYA

It is unfortunate that we do not possess a lengthy treatise written by al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, similar to that of his father, with which to consider his intellectual abilities further. It is apparent from the short pieces contained in this chapter that he was quite capable of writing correct Arabic, both prose and verse. None of my informants gave reasons for this. However, Imām Muḥammad Marḥaba Saghanughu states that after al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ replied to the query of one of his Bondoukou students he determined never to write again.¹ It would be unwise to speculate about this matter, but it is plausible that the political situation in Bondoukou had an inhibiting effect upon him.

This chapter contains the known compositions of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and those of his son, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya; also included is a letter in verse from al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ concerning the study of mathematics.

The following is the text of a letter from al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ informing his associates, students and family that he had completed the pilgrimage. The original, addressed to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Qunbali (d. 1349/

¹Personal correspondence post-dated 22 July 1971.

1930), was sent from Saudi Arabia, possibly Madina, in 1910. It is not clear whether it was dispatched to the addressee in Bondoukou (the nisba 'Qunbali' refers to one who lives in the Qunbala section of Bondoukou) or Jinini. Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, of the latter town, states that it was sent to Jinini. I accept his statement in spite of the note in the right-hand margin of the manuscript: "My master, convey my salām to our sultān, Tan Daté", which may or may not have been written by the same hand as that of the text. Tan Daté was the Gyamanhene and patron of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ before and after his pilgrimage; but Sijinghu, who is mentioned in the text, remained his patron in Jinini. Further, it was from the latter place that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ began his journey.

The present text of the letter is a xerox copy of one in the IAS collection (IASAR/146); it was obtained in September 1963. The original, 22.5 x 32.8 centimeters, is in the possession of al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm of Sunyani. The script is a fine and fairly contemporary cross between Sūdānī and Maghribī. At least two hands are apparent; the names of the scribes are unknown. Except for the occasional omission of dots, the text is well written. The structure of the Arabic is somewhat modern, but a few archaic terms and phrases are used, such as kabsh al-katība.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ كَانَ

الحمد لله الذي اختار رسوله محمداً صلى الله عليه وسلم بمثل ما اختار
وكان أول الخليفة وأخيه بهم برهم قرينة ومحنة وجعل الصلاة عليه سبباً
لنيل رضاه وقربه وقيل أكثر الصلاة عليه طاراً وأول الناس وأقربهم
وأخفهم بإنالته حياته وإفادته سيده وأجدرهم بكفايته مهله وفيه
وعبران ذنبه وتطهيه سريره وتبوير قلبه صلى الله عليه وعلى آله
وصحبه وازواجه وذريته وأشياعه وحزبه وتابعيه وجميع أئمة ومعتز
بشأنه

بسم الحاج الصالح ابن محمد المرحوم إلى الشيخ الأعظم والمعلم الأفتي
محمد ابن الحاج عبد الرحمن كنبلي فيبيلة تحية وسلام ودعاء ويليه
أعاده رب العالمين تعلق قدمي عليهما بالحب وقد جئنا يوم الأربعاء الحمد لله
موصول العباد إلى قضاةهم ومبلغهم بغيرتهم والخير والعافية ما احبنا
من محاييد الدنيا شدة الأثافي والهمة وأرغد العيش ثم اننا رطلنا

من مكة المشرفة يوم الخميس رابع وعشرين من شهر الحجة فقصدي
إلى المدينة المنورة قبلنا ينبوع البئر هي بلد من بلدات البصرة بيننا
وبين مدينة خمسة أيام يا سيدي ابلغ سلامي إلى جميع الأقارب فيبالتا
والتي أمام البلد قبل الفراج وضبط الكتيبة والى سائر الأقارب والأجاء
والتشترهم بما أمر الله عليهما بنيله من الحج والزيارة أيها الأخ النصيخ
ادع لنا يا معلم الصغوب واسئل الأقارب لنا الدعاء ليسر الله لنا
زيارة مقبولة وزجوع اليكم سالين غانمين بجاه ابنه العباس
رضي الله عنه وارضاه وعنا به أمير ثم ابلغ تحيتي إلى أهل إبراهيم
إخو والى أزواجه والى أولادهم وأحفادهم وتلاميذهم وأسيادهم وسائر
من تعلو بهم هناك ويشترهم بدم وجودنا ثم إلى أخ علي سيدي الفيصل
وأخاه وأخوانه وكل من تعلو بهم ثم إلى سيدي أهل قبة أبي بكر ونبرغ وعظ
ومن تعلو بهم ثم لتقل سيدي علي وأبي بكر وإبراهيم ليتمنوا
وليسر غواي تضيح بيتي وقسطن ومسجدي وتجهيز هذا الشأن الله
ذوالعلم سيتر وفيه فريد أباي ثم وللاخير يا إبراهيم ابلغ تحيتي
إلى سلكك بلا سبينة وصديرو وسائر قومهم وأقربهم وأرشدوا
لنا بالخير والتوفيق عسى الله أن يجمع شملنا في أقرب وقت
والسلام

قد اتانا هذه الوثيقة وبفضلها
 لأربعين شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
 وعشرين منه وقلنا هاهنا
 لنا بغيرنا وقد كنا بغيرنا
 بغيرنا فكل من كان له
 بغيرنا وبقينا وبقينا

في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ١٢٨٠

في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ١٢٨٠

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful
What Allah Willed Was!

Praise to Allah Who distinguished His Messenger Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, with His pure love; thus making him the most deserving of His creatures, and the most worthy of the nearness and love of his Lord. He /Āllah/ made prayer upon him a means of obtaining His satisfaction and nearness. Whoever invokes His blessings upon him more is the most deserving and distinguished of men; the most worthy of obtaining His favor; His abundant gifts; a sufficiency of His concern; forgiveness for his misdeeds; purification of his inner-self; and the lightening of his heart. May Allah bless him, his family, companions, wives, descendants, adherents, party, followers, and all of his Community and those who love him. Amen.

Glad Tidings

The late al-Hāj̣j as-Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad wrote /qāṣṣa/ to the great shaikh and eminent teacher Muḥammad b. al-Hāj̣j 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qunbalī:

Greetings, peace and a supplication. Now then: an announcement that Allah the Most High has blessed us with the completion of the pilgrimage. We made the pilgrimage on Wednesday, praise to Allah who grants His servants their wishes, good things and well-being. We were not afflicted by any worldly difficulty; we are comfortable and have plenty. We departed from Mecca on Thursday, 4th Dhū l-Hijja for Madina, arriving at Yanbū' al-Bahr, a town on the sea coast five days from Madina.

My master, convey my greetings to all our brothers in our quarter¹ and to the Imām² of the town, the most

¹Qulkina is a section of Jinini.

²Probably one Kunandi, a mallam originally of Kong

active and the leader of the regiment /kābsh al-katība/, to all the brethren and dear ones. Tell them that Allah has blessed us to make the pilgrimage and the visit to Madina.

O sincere brother, pray that we attain our goal, and ask the brethren to pray that Allah be pleased with our visit and accept it, and return us to you safely with the dignity of Abū l-ʿAbbās,¹ may Allah be pleased with him and us. Amen. Then convey my greetings to my family, my brother Ibrāhīm, my wives, children, mothers /wives of his Father/, students, grand-children and all those who are related to them there. Inform them of our presence. Then /convey greetings/ to my brother ʿAlī,² head /sayyid, perhaps eldest/ of the quarter and my friends, his brothers and relatives. Then to the chief of the people of Manyā³, Abū Bakr⁴, and Nabaragha⁵, ʿUmar⁶ and their relatives. Tell my master /sayyidi/ ʿAlī, and Abū Bakr and Ibrāhīm to work hard and hurry in repairing and

(Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Al-Murtaḍā, Jinini, 9 March 1972).

¹According to Imām al-Murtaḍā (op. cit.) Abū l-ʿAbbās here refers to Prophet Muhammad. However, it may be that this kunya refers to Abū l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Muḥammad at-Tijānī (d. 1815), founder of the Tijāniyya ṭarīqa, because of the use of the phrase "raḍiya Allah ʿanhū wa arḍāhu wa ʿannā bihi..." which is uncommon after the name of Prophet Muhammad.

²Eldest brother of Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's wife Maimūna.

³A quarter of Jinini in which the majority of the people were Muslims.

⁴An old man of Manyā.

⁵A servant of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih; his real name was ʿAbd Allah.

⁶Another old man of Manyā.

preparing my house, dwelling-place and mosque. If Allah, the Most High, pleases they will see me soon, without delay. O Ibrāhīm, convey my greetings to the Sultan of my town, Sijinghu,¹ and Siddīq² and their people. Order them to pray for our commonweal and welfare, hoping that Allah will re-unite us soon. Peace.

Folio Ib

/This document arrived to us (at Jinini) Wednesday night 16th Rabī' al-Ākhir,³ and it was read to us by my father Ibrāhīm. We spread the good news and laughed with joy until the mountains answered me. All of us pray for you. Some day Allah will bring us together (again).⁴

¹The animist chief of Jinini when Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih arrived (Muhammad, field notes, interview with Al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972).

²A brother of Sijinghu. Siddīq's father, 'Abd Allah, converted to Islam by Al-Ḥājj Ṣālih and died a Muslim. However, Siddīq apostated twice and died a pagan (Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Al-Murtadā, 9 March 1972).

³A note on the IAS description card for this manuscript reads "16 Rabī' II 1328=27 April, 1910" which is probably correct.

⁴This gloss is in a different hand, perhaps that of Muhammad's son.

Among the prominent students of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay (d. 1957) of Bondoukou who wrote at least two tracts about his teacher. After al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's pilgrimage and his return to Bondoukou Abū Bakr requested from him the meanings of eleven Arabic words, most of which are somewhat archaic: ya'sūb, samandal, manāshif, samarmar, zurzūr, shibdi', sharji', shisi', adranfaqa, sharghūf and mughlandif. According to Imām al-Ḥājj Marḥabā, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ dictated the following reply (IASAR/88) to his son Ibrāhīm while performing the ablution for an afternoon prayer; the date is said to have been Jamadī II 1328/July 1910.¹ Another student, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Watara of Bondoukou wrote a commentary (IASAR/90) in tarbī' on the reply. Of the three extant compositions of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ only his letter from Saudi Arabia is written in nathr (prose). The following tract demonstrates his extensive Arabic vocabulary and a relatively good familiarity with the grammar and versification of the language. The words to be defined are sometimes ingeniously suffixed with pronouns and placed in verses so as to give no indication of the intention to define the terms.

The poem is a qaṣīda lāmīyya of two folios. It measures 16 x 20 centimeters, and was obtained by the IAS in May 1963. The script is Sūdānī-Maghribī and is generally quite legible.

¹Imām al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, personal correspondence, postmarked 22 July 1971.

وَأَمَّا كَيْفَ يَزِيدُ مِنْ أَمْرٍ مَعْنَاهُ لَمْ يَنْفَعِدْ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

إِنْ قِيلَ مَا مَعْنَاهُ فَقَدْ جَاءَ الْوَرْدُ فِي الْأَرْضِ ثُمَّ يَنْفَعِدُ بِالْقِيلِ

وَالْمَارِدُ الْمَعْنَى وَالْقِيَارُ نَسْمُ مَنْ أَعُوذُ بِمَا جَاءَ فِيهِ

وَأَمَّا شَيْءٌ يَزِيدُ مِنْ أَمْرٍ مَعْنَاهُ لَمْ يَنْفَعِدْ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

وَالْمَارِدُ الْمَعْنَى وَالْقِيَارُ نَسْمُ مَنْ أَعُوذُ بِمَا جَاءَ فِيهِ

وَأَمَّا شَيْءٌ يَزِيدُ مِنْ أَمْرٍ مَعْنَاهُ لَمْ يَنْفَعِدْ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

وَالْمَارِدُ الْمَعْنَى وَالْقِيَارُ نَسْمُ مَنْ أَعُوذُ بِمَا جَاءَ فِيهِ

وَأَمَّا شَيْءٌ يَزِيدُ مِنْ أَمْرٍ مَعْنَاهُ لَمْ يَنْفَعِدْ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

وَالْمَارِدُ الْمَعْنَى وَالْقِيَارُ نَسْمُ مَنْ أَعُوذُ بِمَا جَاءَ فِيهِ

فِي كِتَابِهِ لَا يَنْفَعِدُ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

فِي كِتَابِهِ لَا يَنْفَعِدُ إِلَّا بِالْمَعْنَى ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ يُقِيلُ

Folio IIa

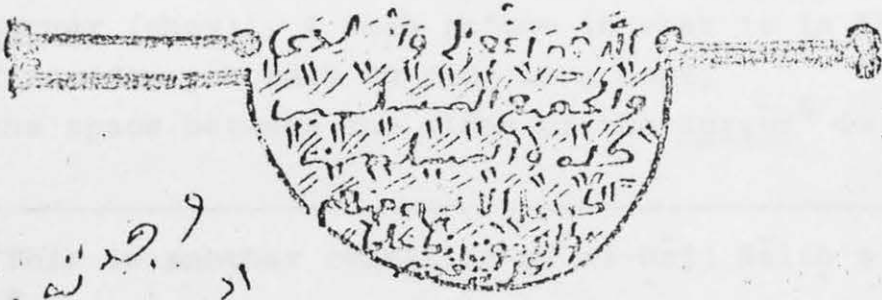
تَعْرِفُونَ أَدْرِيكُمْ أَيْسَارُ وَيَسْرُ رَغُورُ مَكَايِدَ تَعْرِفُونَ

قَالَ اللَّهُ يَسْأَلُ غَيْرُ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُمْ بِإِثْنِهِ مَعَارِ لِيَقْبَعَ تَعْرِفُونَ

وَتَعْرِفُونَ الْمُنْقَلَبَ فَالشَّيْءُ مِنْهُمُ الْإِسْلَامُ وَالْأَنْفَرُ قُبْنَةُ دَسَالِ الْكَلِ

تَعْرِفُونَ الْإِسْلَامَ لَيْسَ الْإِسْلَامُ تَعْرِفُونَ بِالْأَنْفَرِ

يَسْرُورُ مَكَايِدَ تَعْرِفُونَ الْإِسْلَامَ تَعْرِفُونَ



9 جديته وزواله
ادريس بن عبد الله
بنده 21/11/15
في دار الفؤاد 10
1382/10/14
21/11/15

اللَّهُمَّ اللَّهُمَّ اللَّهُمَّ

لغة
لغة
لغة

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful.
 The well-known and most erudite scholar, the learned, the
 knowledgeable, the adept; the last of the indubitable ones
 and the most informed of the finer points of knowledge;
imām of imāms; the ka'ba of the community of grammarians;
 the most learned of the jurists; the most virtuous; the
 knowledgeable instructor, son of Muḥammad, my master al-
 Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ al-Jawānī¹ al-Jarnī² at-Ṭijānī, may Allah have
 ample mercy upon him and admit him to Paradise, amen, said:

Begin the reply with their ya'sub (i.e., ya'sūb)
 Its leader, even the male bee.

Folio Ib

And which bird is like our Ibrāhīm?³
 The samandal (phoenix) of India;⁴ they are benevolent people.
 If it were said what does manāshif (towels) mean, then in
 reply
 Say, the earth was dried of its wetness.
 And the strong devil among the demons
 Is samarmar (ghoul), I seek refuge in what is in The Bee.⁵
 And if someday you want to ride in a boat,
 Then the space between the sides of the zurzūr⁶ is narrow.

¹This is another rendition of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's nisba,
 az-Zōnī.

²Al-Jarnī, a stone basin used for the ablution, rarely
 appears among Ṣāliḥ's nisbas; it is not mentioned, for
 example, in Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Watara's commentary on
 this letter (IASAR/90) nor in the copy sent to me by
 Imām Marḥabā Saghanughu.

³That is, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, eldest brother of Ṣāliḥ.

⁴The letter nūn is omitted in this copy; see IASAR/90.

⁵This refers to Sūrat an-Nahl, The Bee, 16:98.

⁶A small row-boat (zauraq) similar to a canoe (zallāl).

And shibdi', if one comes desiring understanding of it,
 /Īt/ is the harmful scorpion
 And sharji', the tallest of men or
 Longest of coffins, or tall flabby female camels.
 But shisi'¹ is really a small section of a place.
 My son, strive and be of the discontented;
 And with kasra and sukūn of the second letter (shis'),
 Then it is a /sandal/ strap without a defect.

Folio IIa

And you say the lovers adranfaga (hurried),
 /Meaning they/ hurried toward the sweetness of the palm tree.
 Say to him who inquires about their sharghūf,
 It is a small large-bellied frog.
Mughlandif, which is intense darkness, hides (tūthir)
 What wrongs are committed.
 Praise to Him who guided the tongue of the eloquent
 To speak what he desires eloquently.
 The letter was completed with praise to Him.

/Ō Allah, forgive me, my parents and the Muslims, males
 and females ... O Allah, O Allah, O Allah!²

Its author is our shaikh al-Ḥājj Ṣālih. I obtained it
 (wajadtuhu) from mu'allim Idrīs Bamba of Fugula-Banda,
 Wednesday, 15 Dhū l-Qi'da 1383-10/4/63. Al-Ḥājj 'Uthmān
 Ishāq Būyū.³

¹The copyist incorrectly wrote shishi'; see IASAR/90.

²This is a translation of legible writing in the
 design which is in a different hand.

³This is the writing of al-Ḥājj Boyo (Būyū).

Al-Hājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi was a scholar of great repute during the late 1880s and the first decades of the present century. He was known in many areas of the Western Sudan as an accomplished karamoko in many branches of the Islamic sciences, as well as a prolific writer in Arabic and Hausa. His well over forty known compositions cover a wide range of subjects including translations into Hausa of the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qais, commentaries on a number of medieval works of Middle Eastern and North African authorship, tārīkhs, devotional poems, letters, elegies, etc. He is one of the few 'ulamā' of West Africa whose writings became known in North Africa and the West.¹

That there was a close relationship between al-Hājj Ṣālīḥ and al-Hājj 'Umar is demonstrated by oral information obtained from Ghanaian sources and manuscripts in the IAS collection and in the possession of his grandson, Imām al-Murtadā. One of the manuscripts is an elegy for Karamoko Muḥammad in which al-Hājj 'Umar reflects upon his almost

¹See Thomas Hodgkin's "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana" in I.M. Lewis, ed., Islam in Tropical Africa (London: O.U.P., 1966), pp. 453-6; R.S. Rattray, "Hausa Poetry" in E.E. Evans-Pritchard, ed., Essays Presented to C.G. Seligman (London: O.U.P., 1934), pp. 255-7; J.A. Braimah and J.R. Goody, eds., Salaga: The Struggle for Power (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1967), pp. 189-209. I understand that at least three persons, T.M. Mustapha, Edward Ferguson and Salah A. Ibrahim, are pursuing research on al-Hājj 'Umar and his works.

ten years' acquaintance with al-Ḥājj Ṣālih.¹ The other is a letter in verse from al-Ḥājj ʿUmar encouraging his friend to study mathematics. While there may be exaggerations in al-Ḥājj ʿUmar's exaltation of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih in the elegy, he nevertheless obviates his love and respect for al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's character and learning. The relationship was based upon their mutual interest in the Islamic disciplines. It has been stated that al-Ḥājj ʿUmar was one of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's teachers.² However, there is reason to believe that theirs was not the usual teacher-student relationship, since at least one well informed source claims that "ʿUmar had read ʿarūḍ (prosody) and al-Ḥājj Ṣālih had read manṭiq (logic), so they taught each other."³

It is possible that some kind of rivalry or jealousy developed between the two men toward the end of their lives. This is somewhat suggested by the last lines of al-Ḥājj ʿUmar's letter translated below: "I do not deceive you nor am I greedy for the dirham, but if you heed my council, you will excel." It is further suggested by al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's grandson who mentioned that al-Ḥājj ʿUmar made a sign at the end of one of his letters which was interpreted by al-Ḥājj Ṣālih to his sons, Muḥammad Saʿīd Jatagakiya and

¹See Chapter V.

²Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Marḥabā, personal correspondence, postmarked 22 July 1971.

³A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

Sulaimān, as indicating that 'Umar thought of himself as "a river of knowledge." In his reply, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ made a sign which meant that he was "a ship which can go anywhere in the river ... Ṣāliḥ said that he was letting 'Umar know that he [Ṣāliḥ] was older by two years, and that much and many things could be learned in two years."¹

A definitive comparison of the two men is beyond the scope of the present study, and though such an investigation may be useful for an understanding of Ghanaian Islamic and Arabic scholarship, it is doubtful that the results would be more than conjectural.² My research does not indicate that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was as prolific a writer as al-Ḥājj 'Umar. Their 'academic' interests were different: al-Ḥājj 'Umar appears to have been far more interested in poetry and contemporary events than al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ who was dedicated to Arabic and the traditional Islamic sciences. Hence, when one considers these men, the one having been for us more expressive with the pen while the other related more to his students, it becomes rather difficult to even surmise whether Ṣāliḥ's 'ship' could go anywhere in 'Umar's 'river of knowledge', or whether both men were in fact rivers running in somewhat different directions.

The following correspondence is about the study of

¹Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Thomas Hodgkin ("Islamic Literary Tradition", p. 456) has suggested an investigation into the relationship between them.

mathematics. These copies were photographed from the originals which are in the possession of Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā b. al-Ḥājj Sulaimān of Jinini. Unfortunately the documents are not dated, but they were probably written after 1895-6 when al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ moved to Jinini and his relationship with al-Ḥājj ʿUmar was necessarily reduced to correspondence. The letters are written on a good quality off-white and coarse paper which resembles heavy bond. The sheets measure about five by seven inches, and are a bit torn at the edges; the writing is lengthwise. The letters are written in a clear Sūdānī-Maghribī script; they are qitʿas with the ending rawīy (final letter) qāf. Both men, particularly, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, make much use of similes and metaphors thus rendering an exact translation very difficult. I have attempted a mixture of translation and interpretation.

There may be some evidence in al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's reply that he wished to obviate his ability to compete with ʿUmar in versification. Note (a) the use of the same rawīy qāf, and (b) the use of similar expressions such as sāyil /sā'il/ ḥubb (ʿUmar, line one) and ʿarā'is ḥubb (Ṣāliḥ, line one), ḥars dirham (ʿUmar, line eight) and ṭam' bi d-dirham al-mumāziq (Ṣāliḥ, line nine). This is all reminiscent of the poetry contests at ʿUkāz and elsewhere in medieval Arab history. Al-Ḥājj ʿUmar begins and ends his letter somewhat patronizingly and apologetically, and with little tact he rebukes al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ for his alleged lack of knowledge of mathematics. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ praises al-Ḥājj ʿUmar in his

first three lines, states that he has learned some elements of the discipline in the sixth, gratefully declines al-Ḥājj 'Umar's offer to teach him in the seventh, and claims that his dignity prevented him feeling angry toward al-Ḥājj 'Umar in the eighth.

أصالح قلوبهم وأنظمت ونيق
 عليك بأتمام العلوم كما أرو
 انه كمن في علم العساير غير ان
 ملوم حساين كالتاسر انقفا
 وقد ينيق للقرار كاد اذ اظا
 وهذا الكلام ارجى مقت فانه
 بما لا ينيق انك ارجى مقت فانه
 ولا حنة منه ولا ضرورة رهم
 وسائر كارجيه العاين
 لك انظر عينا السيفت فستابو
 فستابو فستابو فستابو
 آلا اعلم اليه الفير الشرف
 فنور علوم ارجى مقت ويظلو
 كلام جيب ليسر بالفتن
 والا فرب القرش علم منطو
 ولك نطا برا فستابو فستابو

O Ṣāliḥ, understand that I have not poetized a letter¹
 Which was not written out of affection,
 You must complete [ā study of] the sciences, as I see
 Your deficiency is a fault; if you continue you will be the
 foremost.

If you are desirous to know the science of mathematics,
 Then ask me for in mathematics I am certainly more competent.
 The science of mathematics is the most beneficial to people,
 Although the science of fiqh to religion is more illuminating.
 If one takes up the study of the various sciences,
 Then he should complete it and excel.

These words, if you heed them,
 Are those of one who loves you, not one who despises you.
 O my brother, I have offered you advice if you desire it;
 Only the Lord of the Throne knows my intention.
 I do not deceive you nor am I greedy for the dirham
 But if you heed my counsel, you will excel.

¹Wathīqa

لله ما زوقت الروثيفة عرايس رطب وكرابيه من الحفايف
 كدت أراك خير من غث شمس خفا كانه لواء للنصر خافو
 الكمال الكمال اختار أخ لا تنصر عند نصر السابو
 كيف أرغبت عن الحساب وانتم سلو كالسلو وعند مضايو
 وقد كنت و برفه قبل شايما ويسخ جهامة بغير تودو
 باليوم فزت مرثجهم بدلو تضيوبنا ذيه ما بين الخوايو
 وصرت انت لموديه كساب تقص عو غوص منها متلاحو
 القلب فليكن والعرض وانما صدني طالشاهب او متساحو
 حاشاك ان توصف بالخدمة او الظم بالدرهم الممازو

By Allah, you have not sent me a letter
 The contents of which were more beautiful and factual.
 When I received it I almost flew lightly
 As if I were a standard of victory fluttering.
 My brother chose the utmost of perfection;
 There is no deficiency in the recent counsel.
 How can I shun mathematics
 When it is certainly the path to happiness at the time of
 sadness?
 Previously I was in its [̣mathematicṣ] lightening without luck,
 For its clouds poured forth without much rain;
 But today I have obtained a bucket-full from its heavy pouring
 Which lessens my enormous grief.
 You have become to its wave like mist
 Incapable of continuous plunging into it.
 You are a man of integrity, and surely honor
 Prevented me from feeling offended or contrite,
 God forbid that you be described as deceitful
 Or desirous of the dirham!

Among the sons of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ who showed intellectual proclivities al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd (d. 1950) seems to be the only one who left us any example of his writing ability. Following in the path of his grandfather and father, Muḥammad Sa'īd (also known as Jatagakiya, a Dyula word for 'owner of a house') was a relatively accomplished grammarian, theologian and muqaddam of the Tijānīyya; he is remembered in Ghana and the Ivory Coast for his teaching and piety. Although he did not occupy the imāmate of Jinini, as he was not the eldest of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's sons, he often performed the duties of imām of the Jinini mosque in front of which he is buried. The author was consecutively married to two women with the same name, Maimūna; the first was unfaithful and the second loyal.

The following composition was photographed from the original which is in the possession of Imām Muḥammad al-Murtadā of Jinini. It does not bear a date nor were my informants able to surmise the date of the writing. The paper was an old coarse off-white sheet, about six by nine inches, and of European manufacture; there was no apparent watermark. The script is a clear Sūdānī-Maghribī one which contains few grammatical errors. The form of the composition is rajaz and instead of using a constant rawīy, as was seen in al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's reply to Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, the writer rhymes the first and second hemistichs of each line. This kind of rhymed prose is relatively less complex than that of which the last word of each line is in the same meter (wazn). The second hemistich

"Forgive the dull [and] unintelligent writer", should be taken as an indication of the author's modesty.

Al-Hājj Muḥammad Sa'īd's Poem About His Wives

بَدَلْنَا بِزَوْجَةٍ تَكْبِيْعُنَا عَزَّوَجَةٍ قَادِتَةٍ تَغْصِيْنَا
 اَزْدَقَتْ قَبْلَ مَقْبُوْلَةٍ نَكُوْرَةٍ فَقَدَّاتَتْ مَقْبُوْلَةً ذِي تَرْوَةٍ
 وَارَانَتْ عَرَامُنَا بِجَارٍ فَتَدَوَّقَتْ لِحْفَلِهِ صَبَّارٍ
 جَانَهَا فَارَتْهُ لَشَيْكَانِ اخَذَتْهَا اَبَالِيسُ الرَّكْفِيَانِ
 جَعَلَتْهُ حَبِيْبَةً مَنَافِقَةٍ وَهَذِهِ حَبِيْبَةٌ مُوَاوِفَةٍ
 تَتَكَلَّمُوْا بِاَرَزَةٍ مُخَالِفَةٍ وَتَنْتَقِمُ قَائِمَةً مُوَالِفَةٍ
 لَا يَبْسُتُوْا لَهَا اَحَدًا مِنَ النَّارِ وَتَسَاكِرُ الْجَنَّةِ مِنَ الْاَبْرَارِ
 بِالشَّيْخِ مَعَ الشَّيْخَةِ مُوَادِقٍ وَالْحَبِيْبَةِ يَطْلُبُ مُطَابِقٍ
 اَعَادَ لَنَا اللّٰهُ حَقًا مِنَ الْعَجَارِ اَضَ فَعَلَّ اِمْرًا مَقْدَرُ اللّٰهِ اَرَارِ
 بِمَرْمَةِ الْفَرْقَةِ اِلَى الْاَسْرَارِ بِاَقْمَدِ حَزْبِهِ الْاَفْيَارِ
 بِتَنْبِيْهِنَا اَيُّ اَحَدٍ يَتِيْدَانِي اِعْزِزْ لِّلْكَاتِبِ الْبَلِيْدِ الْجَدَانِي

We replaced an unfaithful wife who disobeyed us
With a wife who is loyal to us.

If /ōne/ Maimūna departed /and became/ a harlot,¹
Then /another/ Maimūna came /who was/ of good behaviour.
If she /first Maimūna/ disobeyed our command /and became/
an adulteress,

Then she died of its pregnancy /and became like/ barren
ground.

Surely she /has become/ an associate of Satan,
Considered the Iblīs of disobedience.

So this is an unfaithful lover /wife/
And this is a loyal lover.

/The first Maimūna/ is clearly disobedient,
And she is surely (na'am) incapable of fulfilling an agreement.
/Allah/ does not equate the sinner of Hell
With the righteous of Heaven.

A bad man and a bad woman are suited to each other,
And a good woman is right for a good man.

Allah certainly helped us against the adulteress.

So, my brother, say, I shall forever believe
In the sacredness of the hidden meanings of the Qur'ān;
In Ahmad /Prophet Muhammad/ and his excellent companions;²
In our shaikh, that is, Ahmad at-Tijānī.
Forgive the dull /and/ unintelligent writer.

¹Nakawwah is a Dyula word for harlot or prostitute.

²Hizbihi.

The following composition, Nāfi'at al-Wildān ("The Beneficial to the Young"), is the other known extant treatise by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd. Although the date of the writing is unknown, it is a significant document in that it sheds some light on the contemporary social and religious situation of the younger members of his family, or perhaps the younger generation in Jinini. He urges them to be mindful of their religious duties and to emulate the examples of his father and grandfather, al-Ḥājj Sulaimān and al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, respectively. There are some similarities between his counsels and those of the Quranic Luqmān (31:12-9). While one could argue that his instructions may have been cautionary and not reflective of the moral state of his audience, such a position would not be acceptable to this student. I tactfully and informally enquired about this matter from my Jinini and Wenchi informants; I asked whether the following counsel is indicative of the contemporary situation, or simply a waṣīyya-type religious and moral guide. Somehow my enquiries were not answered directly; I felt it imprudent to pursue the matter further. I am provisionally inclined to believe that al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sa'īd's emphasis on the unprofitability of 'this world' is an indication of not only his desire that the younger generation be pious, but also that he intended to reprimand them for some of their habits and tendencies.

The manuscript (IASAR/149), acquired in September 1963, is a copy of one in the possession of al-Ḥājj

Muhammad Sa'īd of Sunyani;¹ it is five folios long, and measures 16 x 22 centimeters. The script, which is sometimes illegible and defective, is Sūdānī-Maghribī. The composition is in the rajaz meter and ends in alif nūn. It is not known whether the text is in the hand of the author or a scribe; the few marginal glosses may be in the same hand as that of the text.

¹I was told by some residents of the city that he and his family had moved to an unknown location.

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وكرم و مناعا بدموالاك و لا تقبل و بك شيطاننا
 و اعبد الهك و لا تشرك به و الشرك كان اكبر كبرانا
 او صينا ان يحسنوا ابو الدار كليبهما بربا به احسانا
 نعم عن النهر و العفوى فانه كان ارفع عصياننا
 بالمومن من امر به من يستانه و يده يقينا
 و كرام الله رب خلقه كان لكلام و مر امينا
 و احب من في علم السموات و باعد تغارب الغوانا
 عليك بالبحر مع العباد و قد اودى والده كعب دينا
 و لا تكف نفسك بما لا تقبل و قوله كعب غينا
 و احمد بغيره و سمع به و عنه قاله كعب دينا
 و فلبت افترع عمرنا كعبه سمع و لو كان هو فارونا
 و حبنا يا ربنا كفاية نكبر بها في فضل امينا
 لا تسألوا الله فيما عليكم انما حقا و تاتى كعبه هانا
 فلا تطعن به ما ديت نسوة تكسوبه ندامة احزاننا
 و احسن الى القريب و البعيد و انشا كروا الكاهن كبرانا

والتش

لا تكفر بسؤال كرتينا عزك لربنا نهانا
 واشهد ببرك لوجه الله تقدم به لثمة انسا
 هذا حقا شفعه عواقبه وهده ياتك لك تثنينا
 عود لسانك بصوتنا لا تكذب برتعد فيصرمانا
 ولا تغفل شيئا نصر لعمري تتزيلا يتلى ابد ابرفانا
 من افتدري بقولنا انتجع به وان نبتدتها نكر حيرانا
 واشكر لمرامك ولو تفر لا تكفر البر واحسانا
 والكره الدنيا ارفع مفتا وعند ربك العفو خسرا
 لا تظمهر ببرك ان ينفعنا لو كان ينفع الناس انجانا
 ولا بسؤالك يا مكرود بل ثوب ببرك هو كافينا
 واجتهد رتدرك المجد تغير بحدك ولو عدنا
 نرجو ايماننا ابوكم تشرق شئنا ما بينكم ما شئنا
 لا ينفع الخطب الا الرما وان يجزى ابد الادنا
 وزعمنا يتروى فرع الاعمال لكنه قليل ما كانا
 الا بعض الملكة فقدروا كان فضل الله ما هتانا

دهم في صردني اراة كبر عبد النبي وعبد عبيد الله انتهاد نبينا
 صه كابل ان راس النبي صلى ووارثنا لشيخنا نبينا
 ابو سبيد الانبياء الله باريتقوى الله افرانا
 انما هو البر تبتنا منه الله في رقة العظم سليمانا
 تبتنا في العلم واليود حتى يت يهوده فري غمدانا
 يفتتير منه جميع العالم صورنا فروعها افرانا
 اعكاه الله سكون الرضى كذا الك صبر وذا امارنا
 انما هو على الله اجملنا صوكلهم عبيد هم منسكنا
 بعين من ابي كتيب الله وذا في يثبته ضرة انا
 تبتنا على الانام وذا في يهوده كبيرهم صغيرهم غلمانا
 وينقده في سيرة الصحابة وذا في كس ما به يثبنا ^{بعيد الله}
 انما هو في صردني لا يبتل سوكا ولا فضباننا
 صعدنا في سوي المشي لم يربو ما فك خيلنا
 يفتتير على امر الكه مستويا مستقيما اديا هوبنا
 امير يفتتير في صردني ليس من يفتتير في خزاننا

ابنوني

آتية في النسب الفاضل الله اقطار البغية مسكننا
 الزهد والتواضع لكنه لا يتخذ المناقبينا
 لا يستجبه سرور انقضى ونمير بقدمنا حزينا
 ويعظم نعمة ينشورها الفيلز والكثير ولو فطنا
 يتوقف اصحابه جميعا لم ينس جليسا ولو ضيقنا
 له وكما به نعم اولادا واخروا فل مع اهلونا
 لا يستجبه غضبه نكته باطل اظم ايقية لا فطينا
 الا اذا انتعك حرمة الله لديه اذا يقض عجبنا
 الجاهل المتورع وقد اذنا له زمامه دنيانا
 وليس جده انه نا كسرنا ه الدنيا بتجهد اعلانا
 الصادق المصدق وولايته هو انه نومة نوم ازمانا
 هو المشرق لمشكلات هو ابا سر سر انقرا انا
 هو الميرور انقرا ان لم يرب منه ومن لانا
 هو اليق يق المسمى امر طاعة وتمردنا
 هو الله يقصع القوامها لم يرب منه ولمردنا

له سماحة مع المروءة ^{لدايسير} سيبه اسيلانا
 له عشاقته مع البشارة ^{كذاتواضع} مع الامانا
 ايضاً مع مرد الطويل ^{انذار} ايته راينا البانا
 بصبره فرائده سميت الرضى ^{عقلته} بيبته عثمنا ^{عنه}
 جواد يزينه الطرافه ^{خطاوه} منهم ^{ورثه}
 واعدد قيام اليراع الميام ^{هذا} كفى ^{وكان} طاعة برفانا
 يبرده الشراخ الدياجي ^{فتمسبه} ان التفرق ^{بصبر}
 يفرج مواهبه على البفرا ^{كفكر} الخريفي ^{غيظانا}
 يبقوا الشياخه جميعها ^{بنا} ذري ضيق ^{الآ} بطننا
 يدبر حوز يده على ضيوى ^{لكن} هو لا يد ^{مع} الاقلنا
 خدامه فراع مع الزوار ^{تراهم} ولشبعهم ^{سكرا}
 يثابرون في الشرايل ^{بجميع} ايسير ^{جميعه} الادبانا
 يثابرون في الجاف جافة ^{كأن} بالمدله ^{حسبانا}
 لا يصدقته صرولاني ^{ونم} يفر ^{لم} اعلى ^{فلانا}
 لا يفرج ^{بمنه} مسرورا ^{تراه} عبيتر ^{الوجه} سبنا

بصبر

اذا اصابنا من فخر الجود ^{وصار} لنا من طاعة فمنا
 ينصب من اجله الطيار ^{الاديب} اهله ^{تلقانا}

يجردهم من شقية مربيه كان في جهنم من عونا
 لا ينجوا عند تلاوة القرآن اذا تروكاته هيبه عونا
 اعتلوا ورجا اية الدعاء لكونه صيته هيبه او اذا
 كم من قوتهم بقران افنى اناء طابا به اربنا
 فقال هو وماراد ونوى بجاهه الحمد ربنا تسبيحه
 وكم من قوتهم بقران اناء طابا به اربنا
 فقال الولا اية مع العدى وصار من العاديه اية
 وكل هذا طابا به اربنا وبيركه من ربه اربنا
 صلى على ابيه ربه وشرقا ما غرد الطيور في انحاء
 كم من قوتهم بقران امانه قوتهم بقران الكرمه جو
 وانباه ربنا من البقيه يا ربنا عليك توكلنا
 رحمتك في الركب من نعمة الله بقران اشرافنا
 نعمة الله بقران ركبنا لغيره نعمة الله بقران
 نعمة الله بقران اشرافنا بقران بقران ركبنا

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(۱) $\frac{1}{x^2} = x^{-2}$
 (۲) $\frac{d}{dx} x^{-2} = -2x^{-3}$
 (۳) $= -\frac{2}{x^3}$
 (۴) $= -\frac{2}{x^2 \cdot x}$
 (۵) $= -\frac{2}{x^3}$

۱- $\frac{d}{dx} x^2 = 2x$
 ۲- $\frac{d}{dx} x^3 = 3x^2$
 ۳- $\frac{d}{dx} x^4 = 4x^3$
 ۴- $\frac{d}{dx} x^5 = 5x^4$
 ۵- $\frac{d}{dx} x^6 = 6x^5$
 ۶- $\frac{d}{dx} x^7 = 7x^6$
 ۷- $\frac{d}{dx} x^8 = 8x^7$
 ۸- $\frac{d}{dx} x^9 = 9x^8$
 ۹- $\frac{d}{dx} x^{10} = 10x^9$
 ۱۰- $\frac{d}{dx} x^{11} = 11x^{10}$

ندمونا لهذا العظيم لانه اولى اربعة عشر سنة
 ورضنا من شجر الحرام والازوال النفس وما رزقنا
 معارفه ندمونا بهذا الحرام ما كان من قضاة ندمونا
 باسمه انه ادعوا به يوجب وان سالناه به اعطانا
 غدا وانا نعرفه الجمار بقعة فكل فليس ربه ونسنا
 ادبنا طويلا في الاوقات بعد الفدوم بيننا او هلك
 ثم انزل المديانة المنورة لكونه رزقنا
 هذا لك ناهي عن عجزه بربه سانه عجزنا
 به عواء واهل الحبيب نضر عابقونه يا ربه
 يا الله يا سميع يا قدير يا حبيب اجب لنا دعانا
 وانا نزال من انفسنا اهل عذاب الجوزاء والخرسانا
 فزنا نغير عباد الله من حيث يشق ولا ندرنا
 ثم فزنا سيدنا الصديق اياك وقد احسن اماننا
 اعتونا ساكنهم جيعا بعد الكربة وانفذ الدنيا

The Beneficial to the Young

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate;
may the best blessings and peace of Allah be upon our
master Muḥammad, His prophet, and his family and com-
panions.

Praise to Allah Who guided us
To a good knowledge of Him (li-ʿirfān dhātihi ʿirfānā).
Then may His blessings and peace be upon
The best of messengers, the more perfect of them in faith,
Muḥammad, the best of mankind, missioned.
He is the One Who raised him to the uppermost heaven;¹
And his family and righteous companions;
They are the ones who edified the religion;
And the successors, and successors of the successors;
With their religion, and those who read (recited) the Qurʾān.
Now then: the aim of this qaṣīda is
[To give] useful advice to the young.
I called it 'The Beneficial to the Young'
Because it enters the heart.
My friend, when you hear it, pay attention to it,
For it is pleasant to the ear.
I am not of the people of this field [counselling]
Because I am burdened with debts.
I trouble myself with it for [spiritual] exercise²
So that I might enter [ṣālik] the field.
My brother, be tolerant and conciliatory.

¹The marginal note reads "or raised his station in
[the] uppermost heaven". The grammar in the verse and
the note is defective.

²Riyāḍa usually means 'exercise', 'sport' or 'relax-
ation'. However, as the author is known to have aspired
to piety, it probably connotes religious or spiritual
exercise in this verse.

It is shameful for one to be excessively concerned with
 /worldly/ success.¹

I composed it (waḍa'tuhā) as a reminder /to the/ contempt-
 ible generation

And its transgressing people.²

So do not be attracted by the pleasure of your world

Surely pleasure ...³

Folio Ib

Be a believer and worshiper of your Lord (mawlāka)

And do not worship Satan, ever!

Worship your God, and do not associate /anything/ with Him!

Association (shirk) is the greatest infidelity (kufrānā).

We urge (awṣainā) you to be good to your parents,

Both of them; /treat them/ kindly, compassionately.

Refrain from rebuke and unruliness;

Surely they are the ugliest /kind/ of disobedience.

The believer is one /from whom/ others are safe from

His tongue and hand, absolutely!

And everyone who fears the Lord of His creation

Is to every believer trustworthy.

My brother, be mindful of prayer,

And avoid the approach of beautiful women.

You must have patience and (ma'a) piety ('ibādā).

By Allah, these two are sufficient for religion!⁴

¹This translation is extremely conjectural because the text is not clear.

²Akhdān is a plural form of khad which usually means 'cheek' or 'side'. However, zālim al-khad and zālim al-wajh used to describe a person means 'dejected', 'contemptible', 'bad'.

³As the text of this verse is very defective, I shall not attempt a complete translation.

⁴I assume the word dhīnā ('fault', 'defect') was intended to read dīnā.

And do not trouble yourself with that
 Of which you are incapable; by Allah, that is sufficient
 For /self/ deceit
 So perform /to the extent of your/ strength and ability ...¹
 For this, by Allah, is sufficient for religion.
 Your heart /will be/ more content than that of the greedy.²
 Listen, even if he is Qārūn.³
 O our Lord, give us sufficiency
 With which we will be content; so my brother, say Amen!
 Do not burden yourself with the world; it will
 Surely cause you humiliation!
 Do not one day heed the ḥadīth⁴ of women;
 You will be filled with (sic. taksī bihi) regret and sorrow!
 Be kind to /those/ near and far,
 The believer (ash-shākir) and the apparent unbeliever.

Folio IIa

Do not ask many questions. Be fearful
 Of that which our Lord has decreed forbidden.
 Be righteous for the sake of Allah, not
 In order to be praised by man.
 This is right; its consequences will be appreciated.
 But to do otherwise, Satan (tinnīn) will come to you.
 Accustom your tongue to speaking the truth;
 Do not lie, /for/ you will be considered of those who lied.
 Do not say anything to him who curses
 Revelation; always recite (read) the Furqān (Qur'ān).

¹This word is unintelligible.

²The sentence structure here leaves much to be desired; so this translation is conjectural.

³Qārūn is Arabic for Croesus, king of Lydia (ca. 560-546 B.C.), who was known for his great wealth.

⁴This word has several meanings: 'small talk', 'conversation', 'talk', etc. It is conceivable that the author intends 'the advice of women'.

Whoever follows our advice /qawlinā/ will benefit from it;
 And if he refuses it, he will be confused.
 Thank whoever gives you /something/, even a date.
 Do not be unappreciative of piety and beneficence (iḥsānā),
 For ingratitude in this world is the greatest abomination,
 And a loss before Allah in the Hereafter.
 Do not covet benefit with your piety;
 If it helps the people, it helps us.
 Do not /covet gain by virtue of/ your lineage (bi-wālidaika),
 O rejected one,¹
 Rather rely on your Lord; He suffices us.
 Strive hard to achieve distinction.
 Do not be haughty about your grandfather /āl-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ/,
 or even 'Adnān.²
 Aspire (tarjū) to the honor achieved by your father
 What a difference between you and him!
 Misfortune does not beget anything but ashes,
 And happiness never /leaves/ anything but smoke.
 It is possible for a branch of the original to be superior
 to it;
 But it rarely happens (kānā),
 Except by the will of the King, the Omnipotent,
 And /in that case/ the will of Allah is executed (ḥatānā).

Folio IIb

Leave the memory of the world and remember the servant
 of the prophet,
 And the servant of the servant to the end of the world.
 He is the protector of widows /and/ orphans,
 And a follower (wārith^{an}) of our Tijānī shaikh,
 Abū Sīmān (Sulaimān), the generous, who
 Surpassed all his peers by virtue of his fear of Allah.

¹Yā maṭrūd is probably not to be taken literally.

²According to some traditions, 'Adnān was the ancestor
 of the north Arabians. This may be an indication that
 al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's ancestors are believed to have been Arabs.

Allah caused al-Ḥajj Ṣāliḥ to produce
 Sulaimān, the tree of learning (ʿilm).
 He went deeply into learning and generosity, even
 He sowed his generosity [īn] the villages of Ghumdān.
 [The people] learned all the sciences (ʿulūm) from him,
 Their roots [and] branches, like slaves.
 Allah granted him the quietude of happiness,
 Also patience ...¹

The patient with all people,
 The dependent, slaves and poor.
 He applies (yaʿmal) what is in the books of Allah.
 His character is like [that recommended in the] Qurʾān.
 [With] his abundant generosity he startled people
 The old, young [and] slaves.
 He emulates the lives of the companions,
 And that is certainly the better custom (yudānā).
 [He is] embarrassed by questions:
 [Even] he does not request a sūk² or a staff (stick).
 He is of moderate character and erect in walking;
 He was never seen [walking] haughtily.
 He walks along the path erectly,
 Straight, leading [the people], affectionately,
 Trustworthy, giving help to the needy;
 He is not of those who abandon brothers.

Folio IIIa

He is of Jawnī descent, pure lineage.
 He chose Jinini as a domicile.
 The ascetic and counsellor, but he does
 Not befriend the unbelievers.
 He is indifferent to the happiness of the rich,
 And he did not see in poverty [reason for] grief.
 He regards kindness highly; he is grateful for it,

¹This line is unintelligible.

²A small twig or stick, commonly called siwak,
 used for cleaning the teeth.

A small or large amount of it, even a piece of cotton.
 He visited all his friends.
 He did not forget a companion, or even a guest.
 He has duties including /those/ to /his/ children
 And brothers, even to (qul ma'a) the family.
 He is not roused to anger by a mistake,
 Rather he conceals anger, /and/ is not enraged,
 Except if that which is sacred (ḥurmat Allah) is violated,
 /Or/ if he becomes angry quickly.
 Al-jāhid¹, the pious; and
 He was given control (leadership) of our community (dunyānā).
 His striving toward obedience /to Allah/ is not like him
 Who the world refused and then strived openly.
 The truthful, the reliable; he is unrepachable
 With regard to /his devotion/ to Allah ...²
 He is the explainer of problems;
 He is the interpreter of the secret of the Qur'ān;
 He is the elucidator of Quranic allegories
 To whoever asks and is kind (lānā).
 He is the one who solves (yafṣaḥ) riddles
 To whoever obeys him;
 He is the one who explains: (yafṣaḥ) the obscure
 To whoever associates with and obeys him.

Folio IIIb

He possesses magnanimity (samāḥa) and (ma'a) honor,
 For that /reason/ his sīb³ flows.
 He possesses cheerfulness and (ma'a) glad tidings
 (bishāra),⁴
 Also humbleness and honesty.

¹A person who remains awake at night.

²The rest of this line is unintelligible.

³Sīb means a channel of water. Perhaps the author meant 'reputation'.

⁴Bishāra may also mean 'prophecy'.

He is light-complexioned (abyaḍ), tall (samardal ṭawīl);¹
 If you see him, you will see a ben tree.
Fa-ṣabruhu girā'at samtu r-riḍā.²
 His abstinence is like /that/ of 'Uthmān.³
 /He is like/ a horse, quick of movement.
 His munificence /is like/ a continuous downpour of rain.
 He prepares to remain awake and fast at night.
 This suffices as proof.
 He recites (reads) the Qur'ān in the dark of the night;
 When he recites you would think him Zakwān.⁴
 His gifts are distributed among the poor
 Like autumn rain in a garden.
 ...⁵ all of his guests.
 And no guest is seen unsatisfied
 His tables are passed round to his guests,
 But he /a guest/ does not pay except ...⁶
 His servants are generous⁷ to the visitors.
 You see them /the guests/ drunk from satiation,
 Talking much /and/ reading the revelation (nazīl, i.e.
 Qur'ān),

¹The word samardal was probably intended to be samarṭal which has the same meaning as ṭawīl, 'tall'.
 I have not found samardal in the best lexicons or dictionaries.

²This line is unintelligible.

³It is not clear whether the author meant his great grandfather or the Rāshidūn Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

⁴The marginal gloss states the full name of this person, 'Abd ar-Rahmān Zakwān.

⁵This word is illegible.

⁶This word is unknown.

⁷It is assumed that the second word should be kirām ma'a.

Praising (yuḥayyī) the beautiful /verses/, praising the religion.

He spends (gives away) not fearing poverty,

As if his wealth is inexhaustible (husbānā).

Not one of his companions was not given /something/,

And it was not said 'why did you not give so and so'.

He spends from his wealth happily;¹

You do not see him frowning (sic. 'ābis), praise /be Allah/!²

Folio IVa

Because of his fear of his Lord his tears flow

As if the Saiḥūn³ were in his eyelids,

Especially when he reads (recites) the Qur'ān;

If you see /him, his tears run/ like the Jaiḥūn.

His Lord granted him the answer to his supplication

Because he is a constant (awānā) suppliant.

How many young aspirants to riches

Came to him seeking help!

He received more than he wanted or requested (nawā).

With the honor of Ahmad,⁴ Lord ...⁵

And how many young people came to him seeking guidance

Requesting to know /him/ who guided us!

¹This translation is conjectural, as the first words of the verse are not very clear.

²These verses are in the right-hand margin and were probably written by a different hand:

If the people are afflicted with a famine

And all become stricken by it,

The cooking-pots of the old are emptied (yanṣabb)

So that (idhā) his family sleep satiated.

³Saiḥūn and Jaiḥūn, which is mentioned in the following verse, are rivers in central Asia.

⁴This is a reference to either Prophet Muhammad or Ahmad at-Tijānī.

⁵This word is unclear.

He attained sovereignty and (ma'ā) leadership (al-hudā)
 Which certainly became a disaster.
 All of that was by the will of Allah
 And with the blessings of him who fathered (walida)
 al-Hasan.¹
 Our Lord, bless and honor him
 As long as the birds sing on the branches!
 How many seekers of help from our imām requested
 /Him/ to ease their distress ...²
 So our Lord delivered him from distress.
 O our Lord, we rely on you!
 He travelled from Jinini to the Haramain,
 To Mecca in which we were honored.
 We travelled in the year 1326 of the Hijra /1908-9 A.D./
 Of the sayyid of the messengers.
 We boarded ('alawnā) the blessed ship.
 How wonderful was the ship on which we sailed!

Folio IVb

We even entered the city of Miṣrā' /Miṣr, Cairo/.
 We reached (fuznā) those for whom we travelled.
 There we visited the graves of the saints (sādāt),
 That is, our master al-Husain /b. 'Alī/,
 And the rest of the noble saints.
Al-'ulā 'alū kawākib bi s-sanā.³
 We decided to travel from Cairo,
 After we had attained our goal,⁴

¹Perhaps the author means 'Alī b. abī Tālib.

²This word is illegible.

³This line is unintelligible.

⁴It is interesting that the author does not mention al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's meeting with Shaikh Salīm al-Bishrī (see Chapter IV). I accept the information from al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's grandsons as reliable until it is proven inaccurate. Apparently this composition was not intended to be an account

To join the faithful pilgrims,
 The accompanying of whom strengthened us.
 We alighted at ...¹
 To reach Shaw who had arrived before us.
 Allah requitted our shaikh the best reward,
 With the honor he received the year we wore the iḥrām.
 We all prayed toward the Ka'ba;
 Nothing was between us /and it/ except ...²
 You yourself visited (aqimta) Mecca al-Musharrafa
 /Thus/ obeying your Lord in your lifetime.
 With your invocation you complied (sic. labbaita) for those
 who
 Did not comply ever.
 We arrived to (haqaqnā) the Sacred House of Allah
 To worship the Lord who created us.
 We left Mecca hurriedly³
 To pray with those who prayed at Mīnā.
 So we pray (naḍ'ū) to Allah, our Lord the Omnipotent,
 And we are grateful for His blessing which He gave us.
 We all arrived (halalnā) at 'Arafāt
 And climbed to the top of its mountain.
 Folio Va
 We pray to our Great Creator
 Because He is the most deserving of it (hunā).

of even the significant events of their pilgrimage.

¹This word, which seems to be name of a place,
is unclear.

²This word is not legible.

³The word ajalnā in the text is an obvious mistake.
If it were ajjalnā ('we postponed') it too would be in-
appropriate in this context. The only word which seems
proper here is ajlainā ('we evacuated, removed or left').
I assume that the second word was meant to be jawād^{an}
('quickly', 'hurriedly').

We visited all of the sacred area (sic. ḥaram),
 The family /ōf Muḥammaḍ/, the pure one wa mā zamānā.¹
 /In some of the/ stations we asked forgiveness
 For past mistakes (sins) which we had forgotten.
 If He is called by His name, He answers,
 And if we invoke Him by it, He grants /ōur requests/.
 We went to throw the pebbles
 After we had cut our hair.
 We performed the ifāḍa circumambulation²
 After our arrival.
 Then /we went/ to Madina al-Munawwara
 To visit Aḥmad (Muḥammad), our prophet.
 There Abū Sa'īd /āl-Hājj Ṣālih/ spoke
 Asking his Lord for forgiveness,
 Invokingly exclaiming 'Ṣālih the repentent'!
 Beseeching with his words 'O our Lord,
 O Allah, the All-Hearing, O the Near One
 O Answerer, answer our prayer!'
 He achieved some virtues
 Which raised him to Gemini and Khurasān.³
 Then the best of Allah's servants cried out (sic. ranna)
 Until even (min ḥaithu) the prophet would hear our supplica-
 tion!
 Then we cried out to our sayyid aṣ-Ṣiddīq,
 Abū Bakr; our wishes were certainly realized.
 He /Ṣālih/ freed all the people
 From (ba'da) distress and saved the religion.

¹The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

²The ṭawāf al-ifāḍa is the circumambulation done after the sacrifice.

³The name of a group of stars.

CHAPTER VII

TWO HISTORICAL QAṢĪDAS OF ABŪ BAKR b. AL-HASAN TIMITAY

Among the Bondoukou supporters of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was one of his Timitay students, Karamoko Abū Bakr (Fabakr) b. al-Ḥasan, also known locally as Karamoko Subruni (d. 1957). He was a fourth or fifth generation descendant of ash-Shaikh al-Akbar (d. ca. 1731-2). He began the study of the Alfiyya with al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ in Bondoukou and completed it with the same in Jinini. It is not clear when he affiliated himself with his shaikh, but it appears to have been either some time close to his teacher's departure for the pilgrimage (1909) or immediately after his return to Bondoukou (1910). Karamoko Abū Bakr's political support for al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ during the latter's conflict with Imām Kunandi and the French administration seems to have resulted in his being ostracized from his family. When this student enquired about his descendants and students from the present Imām al-Ḥājj Qudus Timitay, he was told somewhat sharply and disinterestedly that their whereabouts are unknown; indeed few qabīla heads admitted knowing anything except his name and that one of his teachers was al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. It was only after I had completed my interviews with the Imām, presented him a customary gift and appeared to be leaving Bondoukou that he stated that Abū Bakr was very learned in Arabic, fiqh, Quranic exegesis and local history, and that he died in 1957.¹

¹Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou,

We present two of his writings below.¹ The first manuscript (IASAR/247), Tadhkira li n-Nās 'an Waqā'i' li n-Nās, is an interesting brief account of Samorian and 'Christian' (French) rule in Bondoukou. It is noteworthy that the author viewed the arrival of the French and the consequent routing of the sofas as a blessing from Allah. He writes that the French were possessors of divine scriptures (fol. IIa) without mentioning that Samori had the Qur'ān. The implication seems to be that Abū Bakr did not consider Samori a 'good Muslim' or follower of the Book. It is well known that many of Samori's victims saw him as being outside the brotherhood.

The following copy is a xerox of one in the IAS; the original is in the possession of Imām al-Hājj Muḥammad Qudus of Bondoukou who allowed the Institute to copy it in 1963. Perhaps for political reasons he did not admit to this student that his modest collection contained any of the writings of Abū Bakr. The copy below is a short qaṣīda of two folios ending in ra'. The script, which is not always very clear, is modern Sūdānī-Maghribī. The name of the scribe is unknown, and the document is not dated.

The second (IASAR/224) is an elegy for his shaikh in which he gives some useful information about the last days

8 March 1972.

¹Two others are in the IAS collection: IASAR/153, a devotional poem, and IASAR/230, a hijā'i poem admonishing religious and moral shortcomings.

of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih in Bondoukou, the position of the Timitays vis-à-vis his expulsion and its effects on the neighboring people. This qaṣīda in the rajaz meter is a xerox copy of another in the IAS; the original is in the possession of al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Saʿīd of Sunyani. It is one folio and measures 16.2 x 22.4 centimeters. It is important to note that the manuscript is incomplete (see the bottom left hand corner of fol. 1b); unfortunately I have not been able to locate the missing part. The scribe is unidentifiable; it is possible that the text is in the hand of the author. Generally the text is legible, but it does contain some grammatical errors and one unintelligible hemistich.

[illegible]

قبا عتير راحها قبا في العشر من ذر بيتهم مع الضرور
 لا يجرى اذ انتم في الدنيا والشرور والشرور والشرور
 اذ اعدام تنكروا بلة تنكروا بلة وقبرته الشرور
 لعله قلب اولو السمع بل لا هل توحيه ذرى الشرور
 حتم ياد قاطير من بلد تنظم دقات ضرور هاهنا الضرور
 تاسو اذ يقرية الديرقة لظن تنساوا بهم ونسوة الشرور
 لانه رايتهم بالخير من شمسهم ظنهم من ذر الشرور
 قد جاءنا وشره ينسب شمسنا وقبيلهم تيسير الشرور
 صبر اعلى الانوار الصغار بقبر قناداه الشرور
 شدة راومة واليسر من اعد تيمري اليك الوقام الشرور
 ورفد دلائلهم قاصدا منكم بقضائه العزة والضرور
 اذ اراد الله انما تسهيبا انما تسهيبا لانه الضرور
 وتيسير الخاتم من الله يدعي على البشار شمسهم
 اتيار

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate;
may the best blessings and peace of Allah be upon our
master Muḥammad, His prophet, his family, descendents,
companions and wives.

This is A Reminder to the People
of What Happened to the People

Praise to Allah the Creator (Master) of destiny,
And the Producer of the trees and flowers.

O Lord, bless the messenger
Muḥammad, the riser at dawn.

Now then: listen to the utterance of the counsellor
Giving you a history of the destruction of the houses
[ōf Bondoukou].

Surely the Christians [French] made our town streets of
cycles and trains.

In ...¹ of the Hijra of the prophet,
On the seventeenth of the month of August,
Wednesday, Rabīʿ

The Second, at the beginning of that bloody Autumn,
And the fourteenth of our month;
I stated it in the aforementioned.

Whatever the Almighty of the heavens wills,
There is no seclusion or escape from it,
Because He is alone in His kingdom
He sends forth (resurrects) from the grave whomever He
pleases.

Be satisfied with this deed of your Lord,
O Muslim and unbeliever!
The truthful and trustworthy prophet said,

¹These letters, alif, nūn, sīn, shīn, nūn, equal 461
which could not have been the year of the French or Chris-
tian arrival in Bondoukou; this is obviously a copyist
mistake.

May the blessings of the Creator of things be upon him,
 'Surely the world is a difficulty to the believer
 And a comfortable paradise to the libertine'.

Folio Ib

So consider what was revealed (jā'a) in /Ṣurat/ al-Ḥashr
 Of the destruction of their house and (ma'a) palaces.
 Do not be astonished if you see a similar occurrence
 (ḥidh^{an})

With the evils of time and ḥubūr¹.

But the destruction of Bondoukou, your town,
 Is a blessing and an extreme joy

To one who has a heart or listened,² even
 The people of unity (tawḥid) /and/ green.³

How many towns larger than yours

The palaces /of which/ were demolished over time.

Learn a lesson (ta'assū) from /what happened to/ the village
 of those near you.

Sympathize with them for the disturbance of the heart

Surely I have seen them with the eyes of Shamhara.

How many dear ones were subdued when Samori (ash-Shamūr)⁴
 Came in 1312!⁵

¹Ḥubūr means 'sign or mark of beauty or comfort'
 or 'yellowness of the teeth', both of which seem in-
 appropriate in this context.

²Perhaps the author means those who witnessed the
 destruction of the town.

³An adjacent explanatory gloss reads "that is, a
 person of a green tomorrow" which implies luck or good
 fortune.

⁴The sīn and shīn are often confused in West Africa.

⁵The alphabets are not clear. However, the year
 1312 A.H. in the note which corresponds to 1894-5 is
 accurate for the Samorian subjugation of Bondoukou;
 see Chapter II.

His army moved quickly like /the waves/ of the sea,
And they poured on us degradation and crows.

We scattered toward the frontiers

In all directions; not one of us
Knew the nights from the months.¹

Later we were liberated from them

By the grace of the Mighty, the Most Forgiving.

If Allah wills something, He paves (tahayya')

The way for those concerned.

And the reason for our liberation from the one

Known as Shamhūr /Šamori/ was

Folio IIa

The arrival of the followers of the Guardian,

The Mighty, the Exalted, the Thankful.

Allah gave them the power (zimām) to inflict harm in the
world.²

They have two books other than the Psalms.

They dislodged the armies of Shamhar from our country;

And that was a blessing from the Patient.

If you /thought of/ counting the blessings of Allah,
then do not,

Rather praise Allah seriously (bi-lā futūr),

Who saved us in that year (ʿāminā)

From our east from destruction (hadm al-hudūr).

Perhaps it is better that you not be annoyed

About what happened in the past (min ḥādith ad-duhūr),

For Allah does not change a people except

They change by being disgraced (hatk li s-sutūr).

Our prayers and continuous /supplications for/ peace,

In the night, evening and morning,

Are for the prophet, master of creatures,

Their intercessor on the Day of Judgement,

¹The implication is that because of the great fear
of the inhabitants a night seemed as long as a month.

²This is a reference to the French.

And his noble family, lords of mankind,
 And the successors (tābi'ūn), al-qā'imī s-suḥūr.¹
 Praise to Allah for the completion
 Of our verse in the rajaz meter.

/The writing is completed, and praise to Allah./

¹That is, those who take the last meal before day-break in Ramaḍān.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصل الله على سيدنا محمد
السمد الجرد الفديرة الأزل سبحانه له الأمور في الأول
المأهر وأبنا كبر المير ليس له في حكمه المشير
وصلواته مع السلام على الإمام كابل الأيتام
محمد وواله الأبرار وصيه وحزبه الأفيار
وبعد حمد الله يا إنسان هذه ذكركم للناس
فترثنا مصرق الدهور خلعه مكرور العصور
يعمل في المخلو وما يريد وينقص الأعمار ويزيد
ويبتلى الشفي والسعيه ويبتلى الأحرار والعبية
ويستور فيه النساء بالذكور والعالم والجاهل والبجور
لو كان رب يبتلى للذنب لما توفي شيخنا الشيخ
لما توفي شيخنا الشيخ اعنه أبا محمد البصير
البرج صالح هو الكريم أبو سليمان هو الصميم
على ضريحه غيرة الرضوان والعفو والرحمة والعبران
كلما كان كل عذو كجار ثم دمر في قومه بالشار
وذاك ذاك كل اثم كفور ودا ب كل الم ظهور
ان كبر صانع المعروف كان في بيتنا الشارف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
السمد الجرد الفديرة
المأهر وأبنا كبر المير
وصلواته مع السلام
محمد وواله الأبرار
وبعد حمد الله يا إنسان
فترثنا مصرق الدهور
يعمل في المخلو وما يريد
ويبتلى الشفي والسعيه
ويستور فيه النساء
لو كان رب يبتلى للذنب
لما توفي شيخنا الشيخ
البرج صالح هو الكريم
على ضريحه غيرة الرضوان
كلما كان كل عذو كجار
وذاك ذاك كل اثم كفور
ان كبر صانع المعروف

وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم المولود للناس ندما
أما الدنيا فمنازع المصروف
والعالم الذي لا يعمل بعلمه

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate;
 And may Allah bless our master Muḥammad;
 Eternal praise to the Incomparable, the Almighty;
 Glory to Him Who was Master of affairs from the beginning,
 The Apparent, the Hidden, the Radiant;
 In His sovereignty He has no counsellor.
 May His peace and (maʿa) blessings
 Be upon the Imām, the protector of orphans,
 Muḥammad and his upright family,
 His companions and his excellent party.
 Now then: praise be to Allah, O people!
 This is a reminder to the people.
 Our Lord is the Controller of destinies (muṣarrif ad-duḥūr),
 The Changer of ages (mukawwir al-ʿuṣūr) in His creation.
 He does with creatures as He likes;
 He shortens and lengthens lives;
 He tests the wretched and the happy;
 The free and the slaves.
 In that /test/ women and men are equals, /likewise/
 The wise, the ignorant and the licentious.
 If /the/ Lord tried /men/ for /their/ sins,
 There would not remain on His earth a crawler (mudabb).
 When our sincere advisor /and/ shaikh died,
 I mean Abū Muḥammad¹ the eloquent
 The kind al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ,
 Abū Sulaimān, of the same lineage (ṣamīm);
 Upon his /Ṣāliḥ's/ grave be an abundance of /divine/ favor,
 And pardon, mercy and forgiveness.
 He surpassed every disbelieving enemy,
 Then he called upon his people (supporters) to take revenge,²

¹Here al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's kunya contains the name of a younger son.

²This may be a reference to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's troubles with the French administration in Bondoukou.

And that obliterated /dābā/ every disbelieving sinner
And consumed every obvious wrong-doer.

If the doers of good were to oppose him (yakfur),
/It would be/ as if they /the two of them/ were unacquainted.¹

Folio Ib

/O Allah, / increase (or double) my sorrow in his nest,
And make my every hour grievous!

I have become in my time lonely;

I do not have a tribe or people.

Even a hypocrite approached /mashā/ an outsider

And spread many /sic. shād/ rumors about him (sic. 'anhu).²

Then they took his patient /and/ cultured son

And incarcerated his intelligent /and/ discerning son.³

The towns grieved because of his misfortune,

Except those governed by Satan.

Our Lord delivered him from the disbelievers (opposers)

After he had suffered severe harm and maltreatment,

With the dignity of Allah's sagacious servants,

The astute ones, and they are the wise;

Their leader /malikuhum/ is our Imām Idrīs.⁴

May Allah lodge him /al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ/ in His Paradise.

Here its Lord clothed him in a garment

The likeness of which He wills for him in the Hereafter.

¹I am of the opinion that the author, who supported al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ, intends by bainahumā al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ and Imām Kunandi Timitay, or the French commandant; I am more inclined to think he means the Imām himself (see Chapter IV).

²These two lines and the following seem to support the above position.

³The two sons were Sulaimān and Muḥammad Sa'īd.

⁴A wise prophet (ṣiddīq) mentioned in the Qur'ān 19:56.

Then they sent a messenger to search for him,
 And the most wretched of them guided them to the noble one.
 Then they began spreading out in our region
 Until in the morning they arrived to Jinini.
 They had rifles or iron,
 And ships of leather.
 When I saw the people planning
 To take the delight of the eye /al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ/ from Ghuraw,¹
 I looked eastward and westward, to the right
 And to the left, but I did not find a trustworthy person.
 I left the hands of the enemy /sic. yad al-ʿaduww/ walking
 To Tisa,² /town of people/ of means, signalling /to them/.
 Then all the people cried out together
 Indeed, some of them passed a week /in grief/!
 /Some/ people said they wrote and wrote,
 And some of our people /the Timitays/ said they repented.
 Hatred was reinforced in our bodies.
Wa kātama li-waṣfinā kafūr (kufur).³

/Its author is Karamoko Fabakr (Abū Bakr) Timitay, Bondoukou.
 I obtained it from al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Tarawiri, Monday 3 Rabiʿ
 II 1383 A.H./⁴

¹I am not familiar with this place.

²Probably a town or village between Bondoukou and Jinini.

³Unfortunately the meaning of this line is unintelligible.

⁴This is a note written by al-Ḥājj Boyo of the IAS.

EPILOGUE

The diffusion of Islam and its branches of learning in the Ivory Coast and Ghana are almost certainly traceable to four main sources: traders, the activities of the Almoravids, the dispersion of the Mande-Dyula from the empire of Mali some time before the end of the 16th century and the activities of the Saghanughu family in the 18th century. The importance of the Almoravids is well known to students of Islamic history;¹ the effects of the Mande dispersion and settlement in the northern territories of West Africa is common knowledge among historians of Africa. In recent times Wilks has shown the significance of the Saghanughu in the spread of Islamic learning in the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Ghana. It is noteworthy that the isnāds for the study of the Qurʾān of the early Timitays pass through Saghanughu shaikhs; the same is true for Karamoko Muhammad b. ʿUthmān, his descendants and the prominent lineages of Bondoukou.²

Islamic learning in Bondoukou in the 19th century was limited by geographical and political factors. Unlike the more northerly centers of the Western and Eastern

¹John O. Hunwick, "The Influence of Arabic in West Africa" in Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, vol. VII (1964), p. 25.

²Ivor G. Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan" in Jack Goody, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 172-6, 181-8, 197; IASAR/232 and IASAR/438.

Sudan, it was not within the area of vigorous intellectual activity. There is no indication in my sources of the existence of a thriving book trade at Bondoukou, or that it was frequented by itinerant scholars from other centers. The number of manuscripts on various subjects available to the local karamokos must have been small. It is probable that the few works of foreign origin were jealously guarded possessions. That Marty and other French administrators, who had good relations with Imām Kunandi, did not leave us a list of manuscripts in his possession may be an indication that his library was not impressive; indeed, as late as 1910 it seems to have consisted mainly of copies of the Qurʾān.¹ The political conflict between Asante and Gyaman was probably another reason for the scarcity of Arabic texts in Bondoukou. The enmity and wars between these two kingdoms and the consequent unsafe state of the trade routes would have severely limited the availability of works from the Eastern Sudan, particularly those of the Fulani leaders² that found their way into Gonja and even

¹Abidjan. Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire, xv-42-85, no. 27, "Écoles Coraniques de Bondoukou", 31 October, 1910.

²M. Hiskett, "Materials Relating to the State of Learning Among the Fulani Before Their Jihād" in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 19 (1957), pp. 571-2; Hunwick, "Influence of Arabic", pp. 37-40; A. Rahman I. Doi, "Islamic Education in Nigeria (11th Century to 20th Century)", in Islamic Culture, vol. 46, no. 1 (January 1972), pp. 1-7 passim.

Kumasi by the latter part of the 19th century. The Samorian and French occupations are less significant; the former was of short duration and the latter encouraged trade with those areas of West Africa under French control. Presumably a large percentage of the texts which did enter the town were acquired during the 18th century and subsequent periods of political relaxation of hostilities with Asante. Gyaman's relations with the latter often affected the safety of her trade routes leading to Kong and the northern territories of the Western Sudan. Thus the intellectual history of the Bondoukou Dyula in the 19th century must be seen against the background of a kind of intellectual deprivation. The degree to which a tradition of learning was maintained is remarkable.

The Islamic character of Bondoukou was a significant feature of the town throughout the 19th century. Like most Islamized peoples, the Dyula assimilated Islamic culture to the extent that it became characteristic of their community and distinguished them from their non-Muslim Gyaman neighbors, and facilitated their attainment of a semi-independent political status within the kingdom. It is noted that their position as traders was extremely important; but it should not be forgotten that the influence of the imām and the Dyula notables on the non-Muslim chiefs was largely based upon the religious aspect of the Dyula literati. It was the latter who preserved Islam and Muslim learning for their community, irrespective of the qualifications of the imāms and karamokos.

While there was a definite connection between the Sūfī orders and the 'ulamā' of Bondoukou in the 19th century, there appears to have been little development or study of Sūfī theosophy. The Qādirīyya and the Tijānīyya were introduced and gained adherents, but membership in the brotherhoods seems to have been more a symbol of personal distinction than an avenue for further intellectual development. It is quite possible that Bondoukou had had some exposure to both orders prior to the middle of the century through itinerant teachers like Karamoko Muḥammad. Dhikr was performed at various times (as it is today) and certain fasts other than that of Ramaḍān were kept (for example, on Thursdays). The wird was given to deserving murīds some of whom in time became muqaddams. However, with the exception of the work of Karamoko Muḥammad, I am not aware of a single manuscript from the area under discussion which contains the technical uses of such common taṣawwuf terms as ma'rifa, 'ilm, ma'nā, and ḥaqq (or ḥaqīqa). That the Tijānī term ar-rabbānī ('one close to Allah') is particularly used in reference to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ is almost irrelevant to this matter.

The Arabic language was a very useful tool to the Bondoukou teachers. Although it was never the spoken language of the Dyula community, it was the medium for correspondence, the recording of historical and social events and general scholarly writing.¹ It was also used

¹See the Arabic 'saffi' or amulet given to R. Austin

for amulets, mystical formulae,¹ and its characters served as a script for the Dyula dialect. The Bondoukou Dyula, as well as Karamoko Muhammad and his descendants, imitated the expressions which are common in medieval and post-classical Arabic works concerning poetry, religion and history. However, due to the limited use of the language, it was often written intelligibly but imperfectly.

It was the relative intellectual isolation of Bondoukou which facilitated the prolonged influence which al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ possessed in the town. That his pious and learned father had taught there undoubtedly gained him the initial respect of the community. But his personal erudition coupled with his pilgrimage and extra-Bondoukou contacts were crucial to his status among the karamokos. The latter were, for the most part, locally educated and not in a good position to compete with a teacher of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's standing. It is significant that he had no permanent effect on the system of education or the character of the local leadership. His failure to attain the imāmal office in Bondoukou, due to his lack of political acumen and overestimation of his capabilities, was to aid

Freeman by Imām Kunandi Timitay in the former's Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1898), p. 331.

¹For an interesting discussion of the influence of Arabic on non-literate West African communities, see Jack Goody's "The Impact of Islamic Writing on the Oral Cultures of West Africa" in Cahiers d'Études Africaines, vol. 11, no. 43 (1971), pp. 455-65.

in the decline of his subsequent intellectual influence outside Jinini. That he became imām of Wenchi, a trading town of less contemporary repute than Bondoukou, was not a great achievement.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's intellectual abilities, as we have but few very short examples of his writings. His knowledge of Arabic seems to have been comparatively good. It is safer and probably more correct to accept the impressions gained from the sources: that he was very learned, religious, a Tijānī muqaddam and respected as such; wa l-lāhu a'lam.

quartier. Ceux-ci travaillent pour le pays à
raison d'un shelling par jour; les autres, fatigués de l'été,
s'occupent de travaux sont occupés dans des plan-
tations.

J'ai fait appeler, il y a quelques jours, le remplaçant
de l'Alimany à la mosquée, un nommé Salia Puniti.
Il m'a fait connaître que j'attendrais huit jours avant
de me rendre. Le chef de canton, attendant de partir,
et le chef de quartier de Doudoukum, et moi-même, nous
sommes allés à l'Alimany sur, en toute liberté,
pour m'expliquer les doléances. Hier au soir, j'en ai,
Salia Puniti est venu m'apporter une lettre en
arabe de Koumandi, et la lecture de celle-ci m'a
fait penser que, d'ici quelques jours, l'Alimany sera
de retour à Doudoukum.

J'en ai communiqué, au lendemain, de vos
vues amicales et j'en ai communiqué
et m'en donne de nouvelles sur cette affaire dont
il m'a paru utile de vous tenir au courant.

J'ose.

Gouverneur ...

Dans la note sur la situation politique jointe à la feuille 3 du procès-verbal de passation de service du 1 Mars dernier que je vous adresse par ce courrier, mon prédécesseur a signalé le départ en Gold Coast de l'Almamy de Bondoukou, Kounandi Timité.

Cet événement, dont j'étudie actuellement avec soin les causes et la portée au point de vue politique, me paraît assez important pour que, dès maintenant, je vous en rende compte par lettre spéciale.

L'Almamy Kounandi Timité, d'après les renseignements que j'ai recueillis, a quitté Bondoukou pour s'établir au poste anglais de Sunyani il y a trois mois exactement le 9 décembre 1913.

M. l'Adr. Bonnefont déclare dans la note précitée que ce chef religieux lui avait demandé l'autorisation d'aller dans la colonie britannique voisine pour acheter des colas. Et le but de son départ aurait été, en réalité, de demander à l'administration anglaise une concession de terrain en vue de la reconstitution de l'ancienne ville djoula de Begho.

Enfin, les notables musulmans de Bondoukou, qui paraissent affectés de cette fugue auraient envoyé une délégation à l'Almamy pour le détourner de son projet d'abandon de la Côte d'Ivoire.

De mon côté, j'ai recueilli les renseignements ci-après, de source indigène naturellement.

Kounandi Timité, dès son arrivée au poste anglais de Sunyani, aurait été appelé par le Commissaire du district ashanti de l'ouest qui lui aurait proposé une concession à Sunyani même. L'Almamy aurait refusé cette offre, et aurait déclaré que s'il devait un jour s'installer en Gold Coast ce serait à l'emplacement de ses aïeux à Begho.

Kounandi Timité est en Côte d'Ivoire avec des enfants et une vigtaine de manoeuvres de son quartier. Ceux-ci travaillent pour des gens du pays à raison d'un shelling par jour: les uns fabriquent des tapis, les autres coupent

des roseaux ou sont occupés dans des plantations.

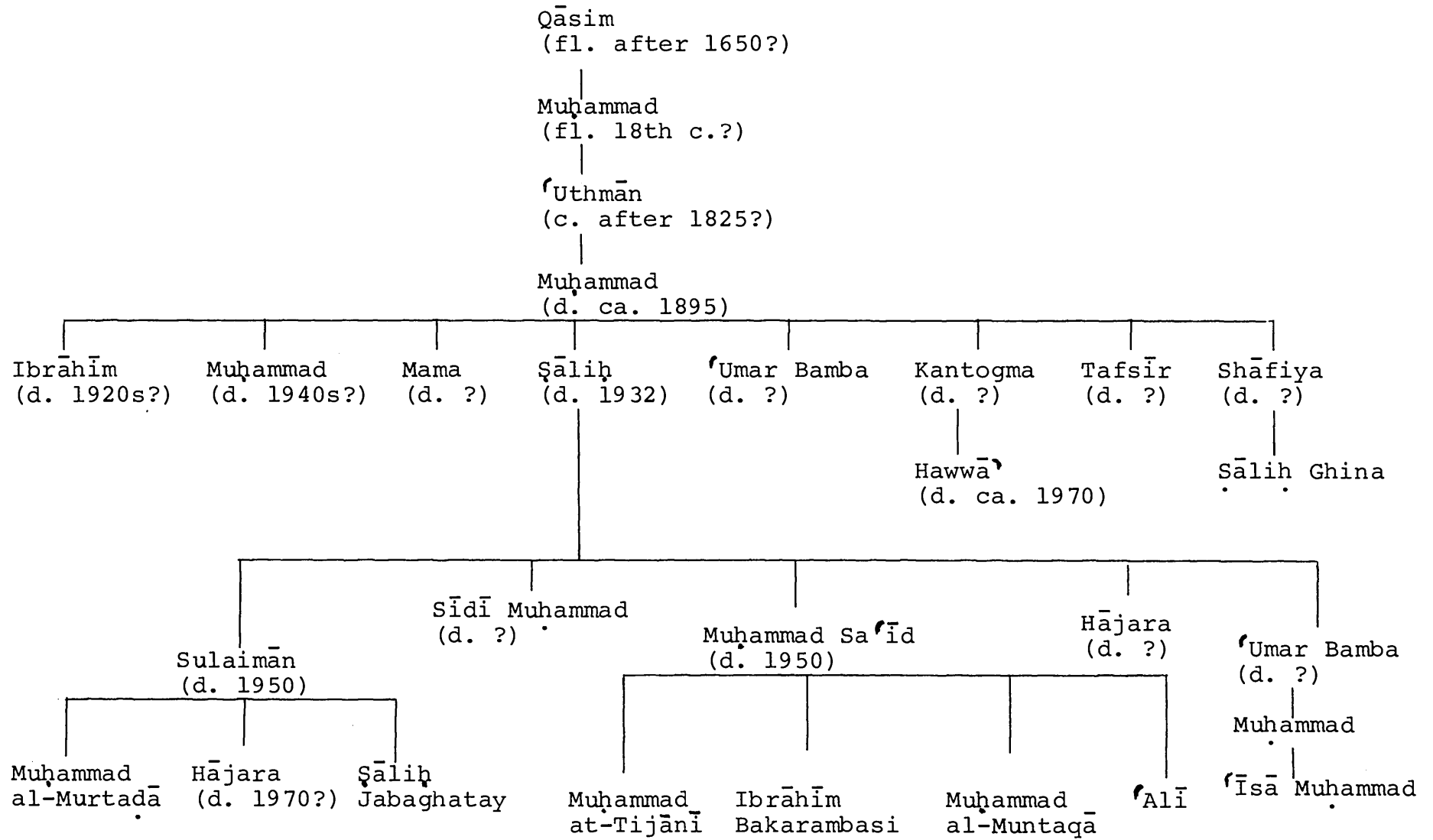
J'ai fait appeler, il y a quelques jours, le remplaçant de l'Almamy à la mosquée, un nommé Salia Timité. Je lui ai fait connaître que j'attendrai huit jours avant de rassembler les chefs des cantons dépendant du poste, et les chefs des quartiers de Bondoukou, et que je comptais sur la présence de l'Almamy qui, en toute liberté, pourra m'exposer ses doléances. Hier au soir, 5 mars, Salia Timité est venu m'apporter une lettre en arabe de Kounandi, et la lecture de celle-ci me laisse penser que, d'ici quelques jours, l'Almamy sera de retour à Bondoukou.

Je m'empresserai, M. le Gouverneur, de vous rendre compte des renseignements qu'ultérieurement il me sera donné de recueillir sur cette affaire dont il m'a paru utile de vous saisir.

G. Foseuti

APPENDIX II

Some Predecessors, Relatives and Descendants of al-Hājj Sālīh



APPENDIX III

Books Used for Teaching by Al-Hājj Ṣālih

I Arabic Language

- A. Al-Ājurrūmiyya of Ibn Ajurrūm
- B. Al-Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik
- C. Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī
- D. Sitta Shu'arā' of Imru' al-Qais

II Quranic Exegesis

Tafsīr al-Jalālain of al-Mahallī and as-Suyūṭī

III Hadīth

- A. Al-Muwaṭṭa' of Imām Mālik
- B. Subul as-Salām of al-Kahlānī as-Ṣan'ānī

IV Fiqh

- A. Ar-Risāla of Ibn abī Zaid al-Qairawānī
- B. Thamarāt as-Jannīyya fī l-Gharā'ib wa l-Alghāz al-Fiqhīyya 'alā Madhhab as-Sādāt al-Mālikīyya of Muhammad Bālī al-Fūtī
- C. Al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-'Ibādāt of Abū Zaid 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Akhḍarī

V History

Ash-Shifā' bi-Ta'rīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā of Qādī 'Iyād

APPENDIX IV

Some Students of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih

Imām al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Bākūrī b. Ḥarūn b. al-Ḥasan of Wa
 ʿAbd al-Qādir of Kong; studied 3 years with al-Ḥājj Ṣālih
 Sīna (al-Ḥasan) of Jinini

Muḥammad Lamīn of Jinini

Al-Ḥājj Karamoko Ba of Fugula-Banda

Karamoko Ṣālih Ghina of Bondoukou

Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan (Karamoko Subruni) Timitay of Bondoukou

Karamoko ʿUmar Bané of Bondoukou

Karamoko ʿAbd Allah Bané of Bondoukou

Karamoko Ṣālih Jabaghatay b. al-Ḥājj Sulaimān of Kanguelé

Imām Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb Watara of Sorobango

Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Saʿīd of
 Jinini

Al-Ḥājj Sulaimān b. al-Ḥājj Ṣālih of Jinini

Al-Ḥājj Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Ṣālih of Jinini

Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Ḥājj Ṣālih of Jinini

Al-Ḥājj ʿUmar Bamba b. al-Ḥājj Ṣālih of Jinini

السَّفِينَةُ فِي الْيَقِينِ يَسِّرُ سَيْرَ السَّفِينَةِ
 وَهُوَ عَمَلُ النَّبِيِّ وَالْعَمَلُ السَّيِّئُ عَمَلُ
 الشَّيْطَانِ وَالْإِيمَانُ السَّيِّئُ عَمَلُ
 الْإِنْسَانِ وَالْشُّعُوبُ السَّيِّئَةُ السَّيِّئَةُ
 السَّيِّئَةُ وَالْأَقْدَامُ السَّيِّئَةُ
 عَمَلُ الْإِنْسَانِ فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ
 أَيْضًا سَفِينَةُ عَمَلِ السَّيِّئِ وَهُوَ
 وَهُوَ عَمَلُ الْيَقِينِ وَالْإِيمَانِ السَّيِّئِ
 فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ عَمَلُ السَّيِّئِ
 فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ عَمَلُ السَّيِّئِ
 السَّيِّئِ فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ
 السَّيِّئِ فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ
 السَّيِّئِ فَتَقْدِيرُ السَّفِينَةِ

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful; may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muhammad. Let the reader /āl-waqif/ of this precious document /nuskha/ know that our chain for Quranic exegesis is a noble and continuous one. Al-Hājj Ibrāhīm b. al-Hājj Muhammad Sa'īd learned exegesis from his father /šic. al-Hājj Muhammad Sa'īd who learned it from his father/ al-Hājj Šālih ar-Rabbānī al-Jawnī; and he from his father and shaikh who knew Allah, Muhammad b. 'Uthmān al-Jawnī; and he from his master and shaikh, the imām of his time, al-Hājj Maḥmūd; and he from his master, shaikh and /šic./ father, Muḥammad Karantaw; and he from ash-Sharīf Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ b. abī Bakr; and he from the blessed jurist, Muḥammad Sa'īd b. al-Muṣṭafā

Folio Ib

/šic./ Saghanughu; and he from the jurist Yahyā b. Muḥammad Saghanughu; and he from the ascetic al-'Abbās Saghanughu; from his shaikh and father al-Muṣṭafā Saghanughu; from al-Hājj /Muḥammad Saghanughu/; and he from ash-Shaikh al-Imām al-'Āfī Saghanughu; and he /from/ al-Imām 'Uthmān Saghanughu; from al-Hājj Muḥammad Thānī Saghanughu; from Abī /šic./ Bakr Saghanughu; from his master Muḥammad Tarawiri; and he from the jurist the acquiescent al-Hājj 'Uthmān Saghanughu; from the very successful Shaikh 'Umar Fūfānawī (Fūfāna); from Shaikh Mandi Kūri; and he from Muḥammad al-Būnī; and he from al-Hājj Šālih Suwāra; and he from Shaikh Mandiwī; and he from

Folio IIa

the jurist Tūrī Kūri; and he from the jurist as-Saisā (Sīssī) Kūri; from the jurist Ishāq; from the learned shaikh 'Abd as-Salām Saḥnūn; from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim al-Misrī; from the Imām and scholar of Dār al-Hijra (Madina), our Imām Mālik /b. Anaṣ/; and he from Imām Nāfi'; and he from 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, may Allah be pleased with all of them; and he from our master Muḥammad the messenger of

Allah, peace [and blessings] be upon him; and he from Gabriel, Michael, Ezrael, Safarata, Rafrafa and Isrāfīl, may Allah grant peace to all the angels and near ones; from Dafafa,

Folio IIb

Maitarūn, Tāsita; from the Tablet, the Pen, from the Mighty Lord, our Lord and Creator, how great is His sublimity, the Glorious the High! O Lord, I ask You, on Your Book and noble prophet, to grant us uprightness upon Your straight path, and on the Sunna of Your messenger Muḥammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him; and grant us happiness and safety, O Lord of the worlds and Most Compassionate. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muḥammad, Amen! It is completed and finished.

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IASAR/229. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay. Qaṣīda ending in lām in praise of al-Ḥājj Ṣālih.

IASAR/230. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay. Qaṣīda in yāʾ on religious and moral shortcomings.

IASAR/232. Isnād for the study of tafsīr, passing through (inter alia) al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd Karantaw and various Saghanughu teachers to Imām Mālik.

IASAR/247. Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan Timitay. Tadhikira li n-Nās an Waqā'i' li n-Nās.

IASAR/355. Muhammad b. Ya'qūb Watara. Durr al-Thana' 'alā Jīl al-Kuramā'.

IASAR/438. Silsila for tafsīr for Sulaimān b. al-Hājj 'Uthmān, through Muhammad Karantaw, various Saghanughu shaikhs, etc. to Imām Mālik.

3. Non-IAS MSS. photographed by A. Muhammad

Commentary of Karamoko Muḥammad on as-Sanūsī's tract on tawḥīd.

Correspondence between al-Hājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr and al-Hājj Sāliḥ b. Muḥammad concerning mathematics.

Qaṣīda by al-Hājj Muḥammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya concerning his wives both of whom were called Maimūna.